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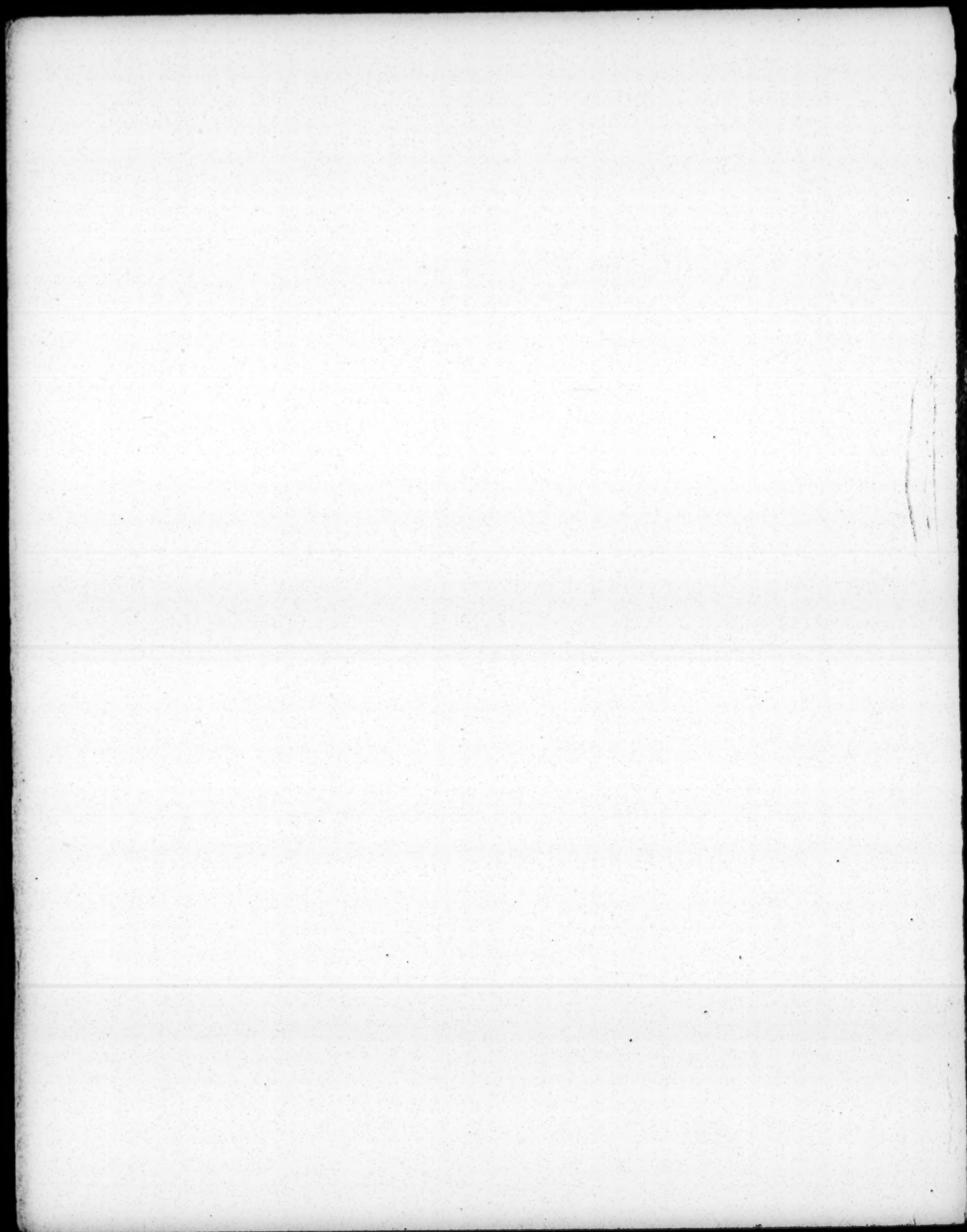


OF BROOKLINE  
MASSACHUSETTS

• MDCCCCXVI •







1447  
A  
DISSVATIVE  
FROM THE  
ERROURS  
Of the  
TIME:

Wherein the *Tenets* of the principall  
*Seets*, especially of the *Independents*, are drawn to-  
gether in one Map, for the most part, in the words of  
their own *Autbours*, and their maine principles  
are examined by the Touch-stone of  
the *Holy Scriptures*. *kd*

By ROBERT BAYLIE Minister at Glasgow.

JER. 9. 3. *They are not valiant for the Truth upon the earth.*  
JUDE ver. 3. *It was needfull for me to write unto you and exhort  
you, that you should earnestly contend for the faith, which was  
once delivered unto the Saints; for there are certaine men crept  
in unawares, &c.*

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FOR  
The Right Honourable the Earle of  
*Lauderdale Lord Metellane.*

**Y**our Lordship, I trust, will not bee displeased that your name is set before these Truths which your heart does love, and whereunto in the best companies of the whole life you have given at many occasions your chearfull countenance and zealous patronage; in the study whereof I have been oft both encouraged and assisted by your Lordships pious, wise, and learned informations.

It has been of a long time the wish of my heart to have had nothing to do with Polemick writings; the bodies of souldiers are no more subject to wounds and manifold hardships, then the minds and names of disputant Divines do lie open to various vexations. The weary, starved, bleeding souldier longs no more for a safe peace, then a spirit harassed in the toylsome labyrinth of thorny debates, pants for that quietnesse which only the finall overthrow and full subjugation of error can produce. How pleasant will that day be to the sonnes of peace, when the Lord shall make good that word which by the mouth of two of his ancient witnesses he has established, when according to the Testimony of *Isaiah*, syllabically repeated by *Michah*, we shall *beat our swords* *Isa. 2. 4.* *into plow-sheaves, and our speares into pruning hooks, that we may walk together in the light* *Mic. 4. 3.* *of the Lord?* But so long as Divine Dispensation besets our habitations both spirituall and temporall, the Church no lesse then the State, with great numbers of daring and dangerous adversaries, we must be content, according to the call of the Prophet *Isaiah* in another case, *to prepare warre, so beat our plow-sheaves into swords, and our pruning hooks* *Isa. 3. 2.* *into speares;* in this juncture of time the faint must take courage, and the weak say *I am strong.*

It seems that yet for some time the servants of God must earnestly contend for many pretious truths, which erroneous spirits do mightily impugne: for the help and encouragement of others in that warfare, I, though among the weakest of Christs souldiers, doe offer these my endeavours. It was my purpose to have made a farther progresse, and to have handled all I mention in my Preface; but being cald away from my present station by these who set me therein, upon the occasion your Lordship knowes, my studies in this kinde are broken off; so that this essay in *Brownisme* and *Independency* must go forth alone, or nothing at all.

My aim in these two is, and was in all the rest; First, in an historick way to set down the originall and progresse of the error; next its compleat parts together in one table, that at one view the whole face of the way may be represented; for I conceived it many wayes advantageous and very satisfactory in debating either a truth or an error,

## *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

to be brought to see the fountain and originall whence it hath sprung, the streams and issues whither the Teneer tends of it selfe, or is drawn by its followers; to behold a way not in its pieces, but the whole together from the head to the feet, the beginning, midst, and end without any concealment or disguise. Thirdly, my purpose was to have examined the principall parts of every errour in a short, cleare, and popular method, considering the maine Scriptures that use to be alledged in the point either *pro* or *contra*.

I beleeeve this my method will not be displeasing to any. I know it was acceptable enough to many of the Congregationall way when lately I did use it against the Canterburian Faction; but possibly some of the matter of my historick part may fall out to be fashious to the followers of the Tenets which I labour to lay open; for it is inayoydable to make a true and a full narration of any erroneous way, but such things must be told which will be displeasing to some; yet I hope I have given as little offence in this kinde, as any other could have done in such a way of treatising; for all the passages that may be pungent of the tenderest skin, are such, as not only I conceive to bee very true, but such also which I ever make presently good by sufficient Testimonies set downe fully at the end of every Chapter in the expresse words of the Authors. Secondly, the opinions or practises I alledge, are such as the parties themselves to this day do openly avow, or else have beene objected to them by very honest men long ago in print, and to this day, so farre as I know, are not taken off by any tolerable answer; in all that is over and above, I will undertake to give ample satisfaction whereinsoever I give the least offence to any.

I dare appeale to your Lordships knowledge, and to many others who have beene acquainted with all my by-gone walking, how averse I have ever been from causing grieffe to any, especially good men; so farre as I am conscious to my most secret intentions, it is my hearts desire that all our present controversies might quickly either be ended or composed by calme, meek, and peaceable meanes, and these alone.

That lately renewed Committee for Accommodation, Oh if it might please the Lord to shine upon it, however I may not stay to see its successe; yet wherever I am, my best wishes shall be poured upon it, especially when I shall heare, as I have great reason to beleeeve is only intended, that it abides circumscribed within the bounds of that prudent Order whereby it is renewed.

For first, that Order is so farre from holding out an Accommodation for all the sects of the Land, that it speaks only of the differences that are among the members of the Assembly. Liberty of Conscience, and Toleration of all or any Religion is so prodigious an impiety, that this religious Parliament cannot but abhorre the very nameing of it. Whatever may be the opinion of *Jo. Goodwin*, of *Mr Williams* and some of their stamp, yet *Mr Burrowes* in his late Irenicon upon many unanswerable arguments explodes that abomination. Likewise our Brethren who seek to be accommodate, will be willing I hope to professe their going along with us, without any considerable dissent, as in the Directory for all the parts of divine worship, so in the confession of Faith and Catechism.

Secondly, the Order expresses only the differences in Church-government; what other opinions wee have mentioned in the following Treatise, I hope our Brethren will either disavow and passe from them, or else be content to bury them in their owne breasts, till time and better information make them die and vanish without more noise.

Thirdly,



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Thirdly, the intent of the Order is to bring up the dissenting Brethren to approve of the Government agreed upon in the Assembly and allowed by both Houses of Parliament; or if that cannot be, to see how in some practises they may be forborn. This doth suppose that our Brethren shall not be permitted to print, preach, or publish any thing against the Government established by Parliament; also that in the practice of this Government they shall be obliged to joyne so farre with their Brethren as their principles may suffer. This being, I doubt not but in many things they shall be much forborn; for whatever be the unadvised rashnesse of some in their way, yet if they may be pleased, according to their frequent offers (as I remember) to be constant members of our Presbyteries and Synods, and there to give were it but their consultative voyce, I beleve that few of them shall ever be pressed to much more; for if they agree among themselves, and governe well their owne Congregations, no controversie that concerns them will ever come before any superiour Assembly; and if any complaint of their male administration, or any matter of ordination or excommunication should come from them to be cognosed in a Presbytery or Synod, the result might ever be to them as a matter of advice to be executed in their owne Congregations by their owne Pastors, if they did finde it right: or if it appeared wrong, the Generall Assembly, or at least the Parliament, would give them so much satisfaction, as on earth can be expected.

Albeit I am in opinion, that no case meerly Ecclesiasticall shall ever need to goe from a Generall Assembly to a Parliament; these two bodies are so friendly and neare of kin, that none who knowes their nature and constitution will ever feare their discord. I dare say, that all the jealousies which are presented to the Parliament of *England* of a Nationall Assembly, are meere Bugbeares and childish frightments, arising alone out of mis-information and unacquaintance; for both reason and experience will demonstrate that the Parliament of *England* cannot have on earth so strong pillars and pregnant supporters of all their Priviledges, as free Protestant Assemblies established by Law, and kept in their full freedom from the lowest to the highest, from the Congregationall Eldership to the Generall Synod of the Nation. No such Barres as these are imaginable either against Tyranny or Anarchy; they are the mightiest impediments both to the exorbitancy of Monarchs, which has been and is our misery; and to the extravagancy of the common multitude, attempting to correct and subject all Parliaments to their owne foolish desires, which is like to be the matter of our next exercise and trouble.

Protestant Assemblies examined to the bottom, will be found reall and cordiall friends to all the Iust, Legall and reasonable Priviledges of a Monarch, to all the equitable and profitable Liberties of the meanest subject; but above all to every due priviledge of a Christian Parliament. Sometimes we laugh, sometimes we grieve to see men afraid out of meere ignorance with that which we know is their great good. I am perswaded that after a little experience, Congregationall Sessions, Classicall Presbyteries, Provinciall Synods, and Nationall Assemblies will be embraced and stuck to by the Parliament of *England* as the greatest and most usefull priviledges of their great Charter.

My fourth remarke upon the Order in hand is, that it speakes alone of the questions of Government, whereby the Assembly was retarded, but nothing of the constitution of Congregations which never came to any considerable debate, much lesse did



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did ever retard the Assemblies proceedings : and albeit the words of the Order might be extended beyond the Government to the constitution, yet wee may not thinke that the House doth intend to tolerate the gathering of separate Congregations; in this point we hope that the desired accommodation shall satisfie our Brethren, and all tolerations shall be needlesse. Themselves are witnesses of our most earnest Desires, of our very reall indeavours, (and we wish, they had been much more our helpers and reall Assistants) for purging of all Congregations, so far as ever they have been in any time, in any place, for making them so void of ignorance and all scandalls as Scripture or any reason can require: In these our earnest requests we trust the *Parliament* at last will shew us favour. But when the Assembly and *Parliament* have done their uttermost, to have the Churches purified so farre as is possible, if notwithstanding of all that can be done, our Brethren will yet separate, and peremptorily refuse to communicate as Members, in the best ruled Congregations, either of *England*, or of any other reformed Church; wee confesse, that by such a Declaration, our Brethren would put us to a great deale of perplexity; for such a separation as this, were as we conceive, the most palpable and unreasonable Schisme that ever yet was heard of in the Christian World, much contrary to the word of God, and evidently destructive of the necessary peace of all these Churches wherein it should bee tolerated; beside its cleare contradiction in termes, not onely to the Order of the House, but to the solemn League and Covenant of the three Kingdomes. Notwithstanding wee trust that the grace and mercy of God, shall be so richly powred out upon this revived *Committee*, as shall enable them to expedit both us and our Brethren from these otherwise unextricable Labirynths.

Would to God that our Controversies with them were brought to a happy period, that both they and we, with all our power might concurre to reduce the rest of our poore Brethren, who this day are pitifully intangled in manifold heresies and Errors, that so all the children of God being delivered from the snares and chaines of darknesse, might make it their great taske and only contention, who should honour most the name of their Father, by the fragrancy of their godly, charitable, humble, chaste, and sober conversation.

Your Lordship is conscious to the first designs of the Noble Patriots of that your Nation, it was never their mind to have trifled so much time in jangling with their Brethren of this Isle, about new and needlesse questions, but expecting a facility of settling truth and Peace within these Seas, their hearts were farther abroad, their thoughts were large for the propagation not of their owne but of Christs Kingdome, and that not so much in the Light as in the heate and life thereof. They have the more to answer who here and elsewhere have been the unhappy instruments, not only to frustrate these great and gracious enterprises for the Weale-publick of Christendome, but also to bring the undertakers to so low a condition, that they be obliged this day to God alone for any tollerable subsistence and their very being: albeit we are hopefull the Lord is reserving good things for them, who had so much Faith, charity, and Courage, as to venture all for the cause of God, and their Brethren; The more unkind men have proved unto them, the Lord who hath been witnesse to all their intentions, actions and sufferings, will in his owne time accordingly reward them, and will not let them be ashamed of their first hopes and constant desires, upon the which himselve for a long time did shine so evidently from the Heaven, as ever upon

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upon any enterprife on the Earth. Though now that brightneſſe be much eclipsed, and overclouded, yet we are expecting with passionate deſires, and confident hopes, the diſſolution of theſe clouds, and the diſpelling of the preſent darkeneſſe, by the ſtrength of the Beames of his ancient and undeſerved kindneſſe, towards that now ſuffering and much diſtreſſed Nation.

But inſenſibly my pen hath runne beyond the bounds of a ſhort Epistle, albeit my experience of your Lordſhips readineſſe to diſpence with your friends indiſcretion, makes me ſecure of my pardon. I will detain your Lordſhip no longer, I lay downe my Booke at your Lordſhips feet, to be given to the world by your Lordſhips hand. If it be received with ſo much candor and charity by every Reader, as I know it is offered, it may poſſibly prove ſerviceable. Thus wiſhing to your Lordſhip in theſe dayes of deepe and dangerous tryalls, and too great defection of many, conſtancy, and daily increaſe of affection to all truth, Piety, Juſtice, and every Vertue, I remaine,

*London, Novemb. 19.*

1645.

Your Lordſhips in all Chriſtian  
duty to be commanded.

*R. Baylie.*

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The Principall Authors, whose Testimonies are cited in  
the case of the Brownists.

- 1 **T**he Brownists confession of Faith printed by themselves. 1602
- 2 The Brownists Apo'ogy printed. 1604
- 3 Robert Brownes Life, and manners of true Christians printed. 1582
- 4 Henry Barrow his briefe discovery of the false Church. 1590
- 5 Henry Barrow his plaine refutation of Mr Gifford, 1590.
- 6 Francis Iohnsons enquiry and answer to Thomas Whites Discovery of Brownism, 1606
- 7 Francis Iohnsons Christ:ianplex, 1617.
- 8 Iohn Cann his guide to Sion, 1638
- 9 Iohn Cann his necessity of Separation. 1638.
- 10 Apologia Iusta quorundam Christianorum, &c. per Iohannem Robinsonum. 1619
- 11 Robinsons justification against Bernard reprinted at London, 1640
- 12 Syons royall prerogative, 1641.
- 13 A Light for the Ignorant. 1638.

The Principall Authors whose Testimonies are cited in the case of the Independents.

1. An Apologeticall Narration by Thomas Goodwin, &c. 1643
- 2 Iohn Cottons Keyes published by Thom: Goodwin, and Philip Nye. 1644.
- 3 Iohn Cottons way of the Churches in New-England. 1645.
- 4 Iohn Cottons Sermons upon the seven Vials. 1642.
- 5 Iohn Cottons Catechisme, or the Doctrine of the Church. 1644.
- 6 An Answer to thirty two Questions, by the Elders of the Churches in New-England, published by Mr. Peters. 1643.
- 7 An Apology of the Churches in New-England for Church-Covenant, or a discourse touching Church-Covenant. 1643.
- 8 A glimpse of Syons glory in a Sermon at a generall Fast-day in Holland, by T. G. printed at London. 1641.
- 9 Jeremy Burrowes Sermons upon Hosea. 1644.
- 10 The personall raigne of Christ by Io: Archer, Pastor of the Church at Arnheim. 1643
- 11 Io: Archers comfort for Beleevers. 1645.
- 12 Mr. Burtons vindication of the Independent Churches. 1645.
- 13 Iohn Goodwins Theo-machia. 1644.
- 14 A short story of the rise, reigne and ruine, &c. published with Mr. Welds large Preface, 1644.
- 15 Mr Welds answer to Rathbans narration. 1644.
- 16 Mr Cottons Letter to Mr. Williams. 1643.
- 17 The Anatomist anatomised by Mr Simson. 1644.

We cite also for some matters of fact, to which no satisfactory Answer hath  
been made hitherto by the Parties.

- 1 Mr Edwards Antapologie. 1644.
- 2 Mr Williams examination of Cottons Letter. 1644.
- 3 Mr Williams bloody Tinct. 1644.
- 4 Plaine-dealing, or Newes from New-England by Thomas Lechford. 1642.
- 5 The Anatomy of Independency, by a Learned Minister of Holland. 1644.
- 6 Doctor Bastwicks Postscript. 1645.
- 7 Mr. Prinns fresh discovery. 1645.





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*Independency at London doth not only bring forth, but nourish and  
patronize Heresies and Schismes, contrary to its custome either  
in New-England or Amsterdam,* p. 93  
*How hazardous it may prove to the State of England,* p. 94

### Chap. 6.

#### An Enumeration of the Common Tenets of the Independents.

*Why it is hard to set downe the Independents Positions,* p. 101  
*They have declined to declare their Tenets, more then hath ever  
been the custome of any Orthodox Divines,* ibid.  
*When they shall be pleased to declare themselves to the full, their  
principle of change will hinder them to assure us that any thing  
is their settled and firme Tenet wherein they will be constant,* ibid.  
*The chiefe Tenets which hitherto they have given out, and not yet  
recalled,* p. 102  
*They reject the name of Independents unreasonably, and for their  
owne disadvantage:* ibid.  
*When it is laid aside, the more infamous name of Brownists and  
Separatists will inevitably fall upon them.* ibid.  
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*They avow a Semi-Separation, but a Sefqui-Separation will bee proven upon them.* p. 103

*The Independents doe separate from all the reformed Churches, upon far worse grounds then the Brownists were wont, to separate of old,* ibid.

*Their acknowledgement of the reformed for true Churches, doth not diminish but increase their Schisme,* ibid.

*They refuse all Church Communion, and Membership in all the reformed Churches,* ibid.

*They preach and pray in them as they would doe among Pagans; on-ly as gifted men to gather materials for their new Churches.* p. 104

*About the matter of the Church, and qualification of Members, they are large as strict as the Brownists, admitting none but who convinces the whole Congregation of their reall regeneration.* p. 105

*Beside true grace, they require in the person to be admitted, a suitable-nesse of Spirit with every other Member,* p. 106

*But in this they are laxer then the Brownists, that they can take in without scruple, Anabaptists, Antinomians and others, who both in life and Doctrine have evident blots, if so they be zealous and serviceable for their way.* ibid.

*About the forme of the Church (a Church-Covenant) they are more punctuall then the Brownists.* ibid.

*They take the power of gathering and erecting of Churches, both from Magistrates and Ministers, placing it onely in the hands of a few private Christians who are willing to make among themselves a Church-Covenant.* p. 107

*This power of erecting themselves into a compleat and perfit Church, they give to any seven persons, yea to any three; neither admitt they more into a Church then can altogether in one place commodiously administer the Sacraments and Discipline,* ibid.

*The Independents will have all the standing Churches in England except them of the Sectaries dissolved, and all their Ministers to become meere private men, and any three persons of their way to be a full Church.* p. 108

*Vnto this Church of seven persons, they give all and the whole Church power, and that independently.* ibid.

*Vnto this Congregationall Church alone, they give the full power of*



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of Election and Ordination, of Deposition and Excommunication, even of all their Officers, and of the finall determination of all Ecclesiasticall causes, p. 109

The difference of Iohnson and Ainsworth, about the power of the people and Presbyterie distinct one from the other, is not yet composed among the Independents, ibid.

The common Doctrine of New-England is Ainsworths Tenet, that the people alone have all the power, and may excommunicate when there is cause, all their Officers, ibid.

Mr. Cotton the other yeare did fall much from them and himselfe towards Iohnson, teaching that the whole power of Authority is onely in the Officers, and the people have nothing but the power of Liberty to concur; That the Officers can doe nothing without the people, nor the people any thing but by the Officers. p. 110

Yet that both Officers and people or any of them, have power to separate themselves from all the rest when they finde cause, ibid.

The London Independants give more power of Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction then the Brownists, unto woemen, p. 111

Some of them permit private men to celebrate the Sacraments, ibid:

Brownists and Independents doe perfectly agree in the point of Independency, ibid:

If a corrupt or negligent Congregation doe not censure their owne Members, all the Assemblies in the world may not attempt to censure any of them, though most apparently they did corrupt a whole Nation with the grossest Heresies, or most scandalous vices, p. 112

The point of Independency is either the root, or the fruit of many Errors, ibid.

To temper the crudity thereof, they adde to it three moderating Positions, but for little purpose, ibid.

They grant the being of Synods, but not of Classicall Presbyteries. p. 113

Their Synods are meereley Brownisticall without all Iurisdiction, wherein every one of the people may voyce; also they are meereley Elective and only occasionall, ibid.

The Sentence of non-Communion is Mr. Cottons invention, to supply

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- supply that defect which themselves make in the Ordinances  
of God, ibid.
- It puts in the hand of every man a power to sentence all the Churches  
of the World, P. 114
- It carries to the highest degree of Separation, ibid.
- Their supply of the defects of Independency, by the power of the  
Magistrate, was a remedy which they learned from the Brownists;  
but now they have cast it aside, denying to the Magistrate all  
power in matters of Religion, P. 115
- The Independents doe advance their fancies, to as high a pitch of  
glory as the Brownists, ibid.
- They are the Brownists Schollers in many more things, beside the  
constitution and government of the Church, ibid.
- They give to the Magistrate the celebration of Marriage, ibid.
- Mr. Milton permits any man to put away his wife upon his meere  
pleasure without any fault, and without the cognisance of any  
Judge, P. 116
- Mr. Goring teaches the wife to put away her Husband, if he will  
not follow her in any new Church-way which she is pleased to em-  
brace, ibid.
- They are against all determinations of the circumstances of Wor-  
ship, and therefore all Church Directories are against their sto-  
macks, ibid.
- The common names of the dayes of the week, of the Months of the  
yeare, of the yeare of God, of many Churches and Cities of the  
Land, are as unlawfull to them as to the Brownists, ibid.
- All Tythes and set-maintenance of Ministers they cry downe, but a  
voluntary contribution for the maintenance of all their Officers  
they presse to a high proportion, with the evident prejudice of the  
poore, P. 117
- In their solemn Worship, oft times they make one to pray, another to  
preach, a third to Prophecie, a fourth to direct the Psalmes, and  
another to blesse the people. ibid.
- They make it a divine Institution without any word of preface, to  
begin the publick Worship with solemn prayer for the King and  
Church, P. 118
- After the Pastors Prayer, the Doctor reads and expounds, ibid.

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- In preaching, they will be free to take a Text or not, as they find it expedient,* ibid.
- After the Sermon, any of the people whom they thinke able, are permitted to prophesie,* ibid.
- All are permitted to propound in the face of the Congregation, what questions upon the Sermon they thinke meet,* ibid.
- About the Psalmes they have divers strange conceits, but the speciall is their new Ordinance of a singing Prophet, who in place of the Psalmes singeth Hymmes of his owne making in the midst of the silent Congregation,* ibid.
- They grant the lawfulnessse of read Prayers in diverse cases,* p. 119
- They will have none to be baptised but the children of their owne Members; so at one dash they put all England except a very few of their way, into the state of Pagans, turning them all out of the Christian Church, denyng to them Sacraments, Discipline, Church-Officers and all that they would deny to the Pagans of America,* ibid.
- They open a doore to Anabaptisme by three farther Positions. First, they require in all to be baptised a real holinesse above a fæderall, which in no Infant with any certainty can be found,* ibid.
- Secondly, they esteeme none for their Baptisme and Christian education a Member of their Church, till they have entred themselves in their Church Covenant,* p. 120
- Thirdly, they call none of their Members to any accompt before their Presbytery for obstinate rejecting of Pado-baptisme, although the Brownists doe excommunicate for that sinne,* ibid.
- They participate with none of the reformed Churches in the Lords Supper, yet they scruple not to communicate with Brownists and Anabaptists,* ibid.
- Their way of celebrating the Lords Supper, is more dead and comfortlesse then anywhere else,* p. 121
- They have no catechising, no preparation, nor thanksgiving-Sermons; ordinarily they speake no word of the Sacrament in their Sermons and prayers, either before or after,* ibid.
- They have onely a little discourse, and short prayer in the consecration of both the Elements; thereafter, in the action nothing but dumb silence, no exhortation, no reading, no Psalme,* ibid.
- They require none of their Members to come out of their Pewes to the*



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*the Table, and they acknowledge no more use of a Table then the Brownists at Amsterdam, which have none at all,* *ibid.*  
*They teach the expediency of covering the head at the Lords Table.* *p. 122*

*They are as much for the popular Government as the Brownists,* *ibid.*

*All Discipline must be executed in the presence and with the consent of the whole people, and all must passe by the expresse suffrage of every one,* *p. 123*

*Dissenters not onely loose their right of Suffrage for the time, but are subjected to censure if they continue in their dissent,* *ibid.*

*They are much for private meetings; for it is in them that they usually frame the Members of other mens Congregations into their new mould; but the Brownists, and they of New-England having felt the bitter fruits of such meetings, have relinquished if not discharged them,* *ibid.*

*They flatter the Magistrate, and slander the reformed Churches without cause,* *p. 124*

*Some of them are for the abolishing of all Magistracy,* *ibid.*

*All of them are for the casting out, and keeping out of the Christian Church all Princes; all Members of Parliament, all Magistrates of the Counties and Burrowes that now are, and that ever have been, and are ever like to be hereafter, except a very few.* *p. 125*

*These few Magistrates which they would admit, have no security but by the error or malice of a few, to be quickly cast out of the Church without any possibility of remedy,* *ibid.*

*When they have put all who are not of their mind out of the places of Magistracy, yea out of all Civill Courts; the greatest Magistrates they admitt of, be they Kings or Parliaments, they subject them all to the free will of the promiscuous multitude,* *ibid.*

*When Magistrates will not follow their new errors, they have been very ready to make Insurrections to the great hazard of the whole State,* *p. 126*

*Many of them deny to the Magistrate any power at all in the matters of Religion,* *ibid.*

*Their principles doe spoile Princes and Parliaments of their whole* *Legislative*



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- Legislative power ; they abolish all humane Lawes that are made, and hinder any more to be made,* P. 127
- The Civill Lawes which Mr Cotton permits men to make, binde no man any further then his owne mind is led by the reason of the Law to Obedience.* P. 128
- They put the yoke of the Iudiciall Law of Moses on the neck of the Magistrate,* ibid.
- They give to their Ministers a power to sit in Civill Courts, and to voyce in the election of the Magistrates, and to draw from Scripture civill Lawes for the Government of the State,* ibid.
- They offer to perswade the Magistrate contradictory Principles according to their owne interest ; in New-England they perswade the Magistrate to kill Idolaters and Hereticks ; even whole Cities, men, women and children.* P. 129
- But here they deny the Magistrate all power to lay the least restraint upon the grossest Idolaters, Apostates, blasphemers, Seducers, or the greatest Enemies of Religion,* ibid.
- No great appearance of their respect to secular Learning and Scholes,* ibid.
- Independency much more dangerous then Brownisme,* ibid.

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It is unjust scrupulosity to require satisfaction of the true grace of every Church Member.

- The Independents prime Principles,* P. 154
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- Their Tenet about the qualification of Members, is the great cause of their separating from all the reformed Churches, though they doe dissemble it,* P. 155
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- The true state of the question, is, whether it be necessary to separate from a Church wherein we get no satisfaction of the true grace of every Member at their first admission?* ibid.
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- The causes of a just separation were smaller under the Law nor under the Gospel,* ibid.

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<i>His seventh,</i>	ibid.
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## The PREFACE.

**W**Hile the fire of War continues to scorch every one of these miserable Dominions, it is the duty of all compassionate Country-men to contribute the uttermost of their best endeavours for the extinguishing of these unhappie Flames, before the remainder of all our Churches and States be burnt down to ashes.

The first and chief Mean to extinguish the flames of our War, is the waters of the heart poured out in prayers to God.

Too much Oil already hath dropped from many unhallowed Pens; the times now do passionately call for Waters; and them, the more cold and clear, the better, for quenching the thirst of this devouring Beast. Vinegar and Gall, though in the largest measures, whole rivers of Blood will not allay, but augment the heat of a Civil War: The most hopeful Peace-makers, from whose intermeddling the greatest successe is to be expected, are they whose vessels are filled most plentifully with tears, to be poured out before the Throne of God.

The fire which this day prevails against us, which burns up not the flesh onely, but the very bones of our Kingdoms, is from above: it is the Lord who *burns against Jacob like a flaming fire which devours round about.* When the scorching heat of the Sun dries up the moisture from the grasse and corn, there is no remedy for the languishing fields, till the vapours ascend from below, and thicken in a cloud; then incontinent the burning beams are intercepted, the showres descend from above to refresh and renew the withered face of the parched ground. The most seasonable exercise of al who love the peace of *Jerusalem*, is to fill the air with the exhalations of their Spirits, with the perfumes arising from the kindled Incense of their Prayers; much of these holy vapours will hardly make up one cloud; wherefore many hearts would daily be breathing up together some store of that heavenly smoke. However for a time all our endeavours may seem to be quite vanished, and when we have gone out to behold much after then seven times, there may appear to our eye not so much as the smallest beginning of the least cloud; yet when the period of Gods appointed season is come, when *the three yeere and six moneths* are past over and gone, there will certainly arise a cloud which, however at first very small, and no broader then a hand, yet will quickly become so big as to fill the heavens with voices, and send down to the wearied

Lam. 2. 3.



Reformation  
after mourn-  
ing, is the se-  
cond step to a  
solid peace.

Prov. 16. 7.  
Psal. 81. 15.

2 King. 9. 22.

The corrupti-  
on of the  
Church is the  
fountain of  
our present  
Misery.

ried earth such plenty of rain as could be wished.

But to the end the waters of our Prayers may be the more acceptable in the sight of our *Prince of Peace*, who alone dispenses at his pleasure to persons and Nations that very desirable and much longed-for blessing of quietnesse, we must cleanse our hands of those crimes which have drawn down from the Throne of Justice that plague of War which so much this day doth vex and well-neer undo us: If once *our ways did please the Lord, he would quickly make our enemies to be at peace with us. If Israel did walk in his ways, their enemies should soon be subdued*, and the hand of God so far turned against their *adversaries, that they should submit themselves* without further opposition. But what peace can be expected, so long as the Whoredom and Witchcraft, the Idolatry and Oppression of *Jezebel*, the crying Crimes of many in the Land, yet unrepented for, doth offend the holy eye of the great Dispenser of Peace and War? A Reformation after mourning, is the second step to a solid Pacification. Long may we petition both God and men for peace in vain; long may we article and treat for that end without any successe, unlesse a reall Reformation remove from the sight of God the personal abominations, the State-transgressions, and the Church-impieties of our Lands.

The Crimes of persons are grievous, but those of a State are more. The corruption of a member is not so grievous as of the whole Body; and the deformity of the Body Political, is not so unpleasant to the eye of God as of the Church: this is the Body, this is the Bride of Christ; nothing so much provokes the passion of a loving Husband, as the polluting of his Spouse. Church-grievances were the first and main causes of our present Troubles; the righting of these, will open the door of our first hope of deliverance.

Whoso will observe either the spring or progresse of our present Woes in all the three Kingdoms, will finde that the open Oppression and secret Undermining of the Common-wealth, by the craft and tyranny of the malignant Faction, did highly provoke the wrath of God, and was a great occasion of all this Discord which hath broke out among men: Yet it is evident, that the principal cause which hath kindled the Jealousie of God, and enflamed the spirits of men to shake off and break in pieces those Yokes of Civil Slavery, which ingenuous necks were no more able to bear, was the constuprating of the Church, the bringing in upon her



her by violence, and daily multiplying of Errours, Superstitions, Idolatries, and other Spiritual Burdens.

The Method of our Cure, if ever it prove solid, must lead our Physitians to the fountain of our Disease. All Treaties for accommodating State-differences, will be lost, if in the first place Religion be not provided for, according to the minde of God. It once the Temple were builded, and filled with the cloud, the Difficulties would be small in making up the breaches in the house of the Kingdom, and filling it with Peace and Prosperity. So long as the Temple lies desolate, it is not possible to rear up the walls of the City. It were the wisdom of our great Builders, when they finde themselves over-toiled in the Fifth yeer of their *Work*, as they desire not to have all their by-past labours vain and fruitlesse, at last in good earnest to set upon the building of the Church.

The State cannot be settled til the Church be first reformed.

Interests of private persons and particular Factions, laid over with the colour of pretended State-reasons, may procrastinate days without number, settling of Religion: yet if we trust either ancient or late experience, these States-men provide best for the welfare of their Countrey, who give to the God of heauen, to his Worship and House, the first and most high place in all their studies and cares.

If we behold either the former, or the later Reformers of the State of *Israel*; if we consider the practice of *Moses*, of *David*, of *Hezekiah*, of *Zerubbabel*, and others, it is evident the *Tabernacle*, the *Ark*, the *Temple*, did first and most lie at all their hearts. Our Neighbours and Brethren of *Scotland*, when this our Disease was upon them, and did presse them well-neer to death and ruine, by this method of Physick did in a short time regain their full health and strength, in the which they had great appearance to have continued, without any Recidive, unlesse their pious compassion and brotherly attendance upon us in our languishing, had made them partakers of these evils in our Company which they had clean escaped,

The lamentable neglect for so long a time of the Churches disease, makes now the Cure, if not desperate, yet much more difficult then once it was: so much the more had every good man need to bring forth the best of his wits, at least of his wishes, for the encouragement and assistance of our great Physitians, who now, blessed be God, with all their care, are busied, above all things else, about the recovery of that languishing Patient. The voices of

Every man must help what he can to recover the languishing Church from her desperate Disease.

some of her more faithful servants crying aloud in the ear of all the world of their Mistris extreme danger, of her approach to the doors of death; this noise hath awakened and given an Alarm to many, that now they run with speed to recover the expiring breath of their dying Mother, not without some disdain and indignation against them by whose subtil artifices, and more than ordinary industry, they have been kept off all this while from so much as approaching the sick bed of the dangerously-diseased Spouse of Christ.

The offer of a  
strange and easie  
remedy of a  
Looking-glasse

And now while so many gracious hands are about this noble Patient, every one out of their rich shops bringing the choicest Medicaments they can fall upon; I also, out of my poor store, rather from a desire to testifie affection then confidence of any skill in this Art, do offer unto her, as one mean of help, a Looking-glasse, wherein if she will be pleased but to behold the Symptoms of her Disease, by this inspection alone, and clear sight of her face in this Glasse, without any further trouble whether of Positions within, or Applications without, I am hopeful, through the blessing of the great Master of all lawful Arts, she shall be able to shake off the principal of those evils which now do most afflict her.

That by the eye alone very noisome Diseases may be conveyed to the body, it is the ancient credulity of some. However, dayly experience puts it out of all doubt, that thorow the glasse of the eye the soul may be infected with the desperate Diseases of most pestilent passions. But that which here is offered, is much more rare and singular, by looking in a Glasse to cure the worst Diseases, and to remove from the soul the most dangerous passions by meer contemplation.

The malignity  
of Errour.

2 Tim. 2. 17.

2 Pet. 2. 1, 2, 3, 4.

The Authors  
intention is to  
set down in a  
Table for the  
clear view of  
all the Errors  
which trouble  
us.

To leave Metaphors, my meaning is, that the greatest hazard of our Church this day, comes from the evil of Errour. This, if the Apostle Paul may be trusted, doth eat up the soul no lesse then a Gangrene the body. This, if we will believe the Apostle Peter, is a pernicious and damnable evil which brings on sudden destruction. It is a sin before God no lesse abominable then those which brought fire on Sodom, the flood on the first world, the chains of darknesse upon the evil Angels.

At this instant, when the evil of Errour hath spread it self over the whole Body of this distracted Church, it seems it may prove a remedy not unprofitable to draw together the chief heads of those



those errors which now are flying abroad; their faces being clearly described in one short Table in their true lineaments and native colours, will appear so deformed, that many who now are bewitched with them, upon this sight, may be brought out of all further affection towards them.

This is the end of my present work, without the least intention, so far as I can understand my own meaning, to create any just offence or real hurt to any mans person. For, truly, I know not the creature breathing, to whom heartily I do not wish Grace, Mercy, and Peace; onely the opinions which for a long time, with all licence, are blown by the Spirit of error over all the Land, to the dishonour of God and the indangering of many a mans salvation, I wish were set out in their clear and lively shapes, that they may be seen, as truly they are, without any disguise, by the eyes of all, I am much deceived if their bare and unmasked face shall be found very pleasant to solid and intelligent minds.

And that with justice & love towards all persons.

And because it is a matter full of difficulty to set down the tenents, especially erroneous, of any men, according to their own contentment; that herein I may do wrong to none, it shall be my care in every thing I conceive material and controverted, to speak nothing without Book, but alwayes to bring along my Warrant, to alleadge nothing doubtfull of any man, but what himself or some other, whose Faith is above just exception, hath published before me to the world.

If for all this, my Testimony be refused, I can but declare, that knowingly I do not misreport either the words or the sense of any man; for, I esteem Truth so honourable and so beautifull a creature, but falsehood so deformed and base, that no consideration (I know) would so far overballance my mind as wittingly, to make me entertain the one, with the prejudice of the other. Notwithstanding, if so it should fall out, which is very casuall to men, much my betters, that through inadvertence I should misapprehend, and accordingly misreport any mans judgement, upon the smallest conviction I purpose not onely to retract my misconceptions, but, for further satisfaction, I promise to make my retraction no lesse publike then was my error.

It is not my purpose to take notice of every extravagancy Onely for their which hath dropped from all the distempered brains of the time; regaining to the profit of such a task would not countervaille the Labour: one the Truth. ly I will put down, as it were in one table, so many of these irre-

gular conceits, which now are abroad, as may demonstrate to any common eye the undeniable footsteps of the Spirit of Errour and Schism walking among us, and bringing forth in great plenty the births of his darknesse, to the end that such a multitude of Satans Brats, appearing openly in the arms and bosoms of otherwise (I suppose) well-meaning people, the beholders may tremble, and with all carefulnesse avoid the deep deceit of that Angel of Light; and the deceived themselves seeing with their eyes what they hugg and dandle, to carry in the face the cleer lineaments of a misshant Parent, for grief and shame that they have been so long Nursing-Fathers to Satans brood, may become the first to dash the brains of these cursed Brats against the stones; or if they needs must obstinately continue fond of that bastard Generation, they may enjoy what they love, themselves alone; all well-advised men standing aloose from the danger of so misordered and irrational affection.

The partition  
of the ensuing  
Treatise.

The principall by-paths, wherein the most among us this day do tread, who divert from the high, open, and straight way of the Reformed Churches, may be reduced to ten generall Heads: The *Brownists*, or rigid Separatists, are the first who break off at a side: The *Independents*, their Children, go on with them for a time; but, wearied with the widenesse of their Parents wandering, professe to come in again towards the rode way, yet not so closely, but still they keep a path of their own. How much neerer these men professe to draw towards us then their Fathers, so much the farther their other Brethren run from us; for, the *Anabaptists* go beyond the *Brownists* in wandering; the *Antinomians* are beyond the *Anabaptists*, and the *Seekers* beyond them all.

These five lead aside on our right hand: towards the left there be no fewer crooked Lanes; The *Prelatical Faction*; the down-right *Papists*; the *Arminians*; the *Socinians*; and, who now make as much trouble as any, the *Erastian-Civilians*.

Of all these we will thus far consider, as first, in a brief historick narration, to set down their original and present condition; Secondly, to name their tenents in particular; Thirdly, to refute from Scripture some of their most prevalent errours:

Episcopacy was  
the Mother of  
all our present  
Sects.

Onely in the entry, one stumbling block would be put by. It is marvailed by many whence these new Monsters of Sects have arisen: Some spare not, from this ground, liberally to blaspheme the *Reformation* in hand, and to magnifie the *Bishops* as if they had kept



kept down, and this did set up, the Sects which now prædomin. But, these murmurers would do well in their calm and sober times, to remember that none of the named Sects are births of one day; but all of them were bred and born under the wings of no other Dame then *Episcopacy*: the tyranny and superstition of this Step-mother, was the seed and spawn of *Brownisme*, the great root of the most of our Sects; all which were many yeers ago brought forth, however kept within doors so long as any Church-Discipline was on foot: Now, indeed, every Monster walks in the street without controlement, while all Ecclesiastick Government is cast asleep; this too too long inter-reign and meer Anarchy hath invited every unclean creature to creep out of its cave, and shew in publike its mishapen face to all, who like to behold.

But, if once the Government of *Christ* were set up amongst us, as it is in the rest of the Reformed Churches, we know not what would impede it, by the Sword of God alone, without any secular violence, to banish out of the Land these Spirits of Errour: in all meeknesse, humility, and love, by the force of Truth convincing and satisfying the minds of the seduced.

*Episcopal Courts* were never fitted for the reclaiming of minds; their prisons, their fines, their pillories, their nose-slittings, their ear-cuttings, their check-burnings, did but hold down the flame to break out in season with the greater rage.

But, the Reformed *Presbytery* doth proceed in a spiritual Method evidently fitted for the gaining of hearts; they go on with the offending party with all respect, and at so much leasure as can be wished, appointing first the fittest *Pastors* and *Elders* in the bounds, to confer and instruct him in private: if this diligence do not prevaile, then they convent him before the Consistory of his Congregation; there by admonitions, instructions, reproofs, and all the means appointed in the Gospel, they deal with him in all gentlenesse, from weeks to moneths, from moneths oftentimes to yeers, before they come neer to any censure, and if so it fall out that his insuperable obstinacy force them to draw out the terrible Sword, their proceeding here also is so exceeding leasurely, and full of sensible grief and love to the party, of fear and Religion towards God, that it is a singular rarity among them to see any heart so hard as not to be mollified, and yeeld before that stroke be given. Excommunications are so strange in all the Reformed Churches, that in a whole Province, a man in all his life will scarce

Presbytery will  
be their Grave.

The Presbyter-  
iall way of  
proceeding.

What *England*  
rationally may  
expect from  
Presbyteries  
and Synods.

scarce be witnesse to one, and among them who are cut off by that dreadful Sword, very few do fall in the States hand to be troubled with any civil inconvenience.

By this kinde of Government, other Reformed Churches with ease have kept themselves pure and clean of all our Heresies and Schisms, not onely *Scotland*, *Switzerland*, and divers parts of *Germany*, but *France* it self, which to this day was never blessed with any assistance from the secular Arm; by this spiritual and divine adminicle alone, have kept themselves safe from the irruption of all erroneous Spirits.

I confesse that *Holland* hath been a cage to these unclean birds; but the reason is evident, the civil State there walking in the corrupt principles of carnal Policy, which cannot be blessed with final successe, doth impd the exercise of Church-Discipline in its most principal parts; these last fourty yeers that Land hath not been permitted to enjoy more General Assemblies then one, and how great Service that one did towards the purging of the much corrupted Church, and calming the greatly disturbed State, all their Friends in *Europe* did see and congratulate while their foes did grieve and envy it.

It is not prophecy, but a rational prediction bottomed upon reasons and multiplied experience; Let *England* once be countenanced by her superior powers, to enjoy the just and necessary Liberty of Consistories for Congregations, of Presbyteries for Counties, of Synods for larger Shires, and National Assemblies for the whole Land, as *Scotland* hath long possessed these by the unanimous consent of King and Parliament, without the least prejudice to the civil State, but to the evident and confessed benefit thereof; or as the very *Protestants* in *France*, by the concession of a Popish State, and King, have enjoyed all these four spiritual Courts the last fourscore yeers and above; Put these holy and divine Instruments in the hand of the Church of *England*, by the blessing of God thereupon, the sore and great evil of so many Heresies and Schisms, shall quickly be cured, which now not onely troubles the Peace and welfare, but hazards the very subsistence both of Church and Kingdom: without this mean, the State will toile it self in vaine about the cure of such spiritual diseases.



## CHAP. I.

*The Original and Progresse of the BROWNISTS.*

He greatest without comparison, and most admirable work which the hand of God hath brought to passe upon earth in these later Ages, is, the Reformation of Religion from Antichristian pollution and tyranny: No other could have been expected from the Prince of Darknesse, but extreme opposition to this so high a prejudice to his Kingdom: Incredible is the help which this unclean spirit hath made to Antichrist his chief servant, for the upholding of his tottering Throne. How many Princes and States hath he stirred up to persecute with Fire and Sword, to the cruellest deaths, the innocent Witnesses of the Truth? How many learned Divines hath he bewitched with his Enchantments, to spend their spirits and time in maintaining by Word and Writings the grossest abominations of that *Romish* Idol?

But the chief Artifice whereby this crafty Serpent hath most impeded the progresse of the Gospel, and kept the Triple-Crown upon the Popes head, is his powerful working in the midst of the *Children of Light*: So cunningly hath he insinuated himself into the counsels and actions not onely of the *Children of this World*, but of the *Sons of Sion* themselves, that by their hands, more then any other, he hath laid in the way of Christs running Chariot scandals insuperable, impediments irremovable, by any humane might, till the Lord from heaven put them out of the way.

The Light of the Gospel broke out so clear, the heat of Zeal, the truly heroick and more then humane wisdom and courage of the first Reformers, were so irresistable, that all the power of Papal Princes, and all the learning of their Clergie, were not sufficient

Satan is the great enemy of the Churches Reformation.

His chief instruments always have been professed friends to Religion.

Reformation at the beginning did run with an impetuous current.



obstacles unto the Torrent of their Spirit ; all these humane Bulwarks were overflowed with the Flood of the Gifts of Gods Spirit in his Servants. The whole Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, *Denmark* and *Sweden*, *Ireland* and *Navar* , were subdued to the Scepter of Christ ; much of *France* and *Pole* , the most of *Germany* both above and below, the most of *Hungary* and *Switze* were pulled out of the Popes mouth ; *Italy* and *Spain* were entered, and fair beginnings of a gracious day did appear to both.

What was its  
first stop.

But behold , in the midst of our Conquests and Triumphs, while all our enemies without were upon the point of fainting and despair, the *Dragon* and his angels got entresse in the heads of our friends, and by their hands drew us back from the pursuing of our foes, who were ready to have given over and submitted ; but remarking our unexpected halt , and turning from them one upon another , they got a time to breathe , and to gather such strength, that ever since they have been the pursuers ; and as long ago they have regained much of their losse , so doubtlesse, had it not been for the invincible strength of our *Captain*, before this day they had totally ruined us.

To passe a number of stratagems whereby Satan hath diverted Protestants from carrying on their work against the Popish party, I touch but upon two, a double erroneous Principle, whereby he hath infatuated many a thousand of men (otherwise not irrational nor ungracious) and brought divers whole Churches to such perplexities and confusions, that they lie to this day entangled, unable to disengage themselves of those snares and fetters, that (as all piety and reason do command ) they may joyn cordially their whole strength with their Brethren against the common enemy.

The fountain  
of Protestant  
Discord.

In our flight from *Rome* , he got some perswaded to stand too soon, before they had past the Territories of the Whore , and the Line of her Communication : Others he wrought to the contrary perswasion , he made them run on too long, not onely to the utmost Line of Errour, but also far beyond all the bounds both of Charity and Truth : Hence our greatest Woes , all our Discords and mutual Wounds have sprung from these two Fountains : This is the true original of our diversion from following the enemy, to attend the worst of Wars, our Civil and Domestike Combats.

The unhappy  
Principle of  
the Lutherans.

By a very evil advice, *Luther* and his followers stuck at the latter parts of Reformation ; they could not down with the whole Body ;

Body; and in this their sensible infirmity, they became utterly impatient of all contradiction: That *Calvin* and his Brethren should go beyond them to cry down a corporal presence of *Christ* in the bread of the Sacrament, to remove Images from Churches, to put out of the Worship a world of idle Ceremonies, it was to them a matter of high disdain, and a Quarrel, which yet is not dead, but continueth transmitted from the fathers to their children of this our Generation. Who would not have thought that the rivers and seas of *Germane* blood which this last Age have run in a good part out of this spring, might have been more then sufficient to have drowned all such Quarrels in a much more implacable Nation?

On the other hand, *Nicholas Stock* and *Thomas Muncer*, with their intemperate zeal, ran themselves so far out of breath, that their followers to this day could never be content to be circumscribed within the bounds of any moderation: They and their posterity the *Anabaptists*, under the colour of extreme promoting even to præcipation, have been the greatest retarders of the work of Reformation; for beside their own falling off, and separating from all the reformed Party; yea, their cruel invading by Fire and Sword, without any mercy, all their dissenting neighbours; their frantick extravagancies became so terrible scandals to the remnant of *Papists*, that no one thing did so much tie their heart to *Rome*, and avert them from entertaining any good thoughts of that Religion which to them appeared the root whence so cursed branches had sprung up.

Both those bitter roots were quickly transplanted from *Germany* to *England*, where hitherto they have brought forth exceeding ill fruits, albeit not altogether so pernicious and plentiful as in that ground where the hand of the envious man at first did sow them.

*Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and some others of the prime Confessors and Martyrs of *England*, receiving their first light from *Wittenberg*, and keeping still more correspondence with their acquaintance in higher *Germany*, then with *Calvin*, or any of the *French Divines*, did follow the *Lutherane* Principle, howbeit not in the Doctrine wherein *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, *Martyr*, and the rest of *Luthers* best disciples did at that time leave their Master; yet so much in the Discipline, Worship and Ceremonies, as that their great

And the more unhappy Principle of the *Anabaptists*.

Somewhat of both these ways was entertained in *England*.

The original of the *English* Ceremonies and *Episcopacy*.

incogitancy hath cost *England* very dear to this day; for this was the chief spring of all the wofull Divisions which since have rent our bowels, of all the grievous persecutions which have undone many, and vexed more of the godly, and banished far from their Countrey some thousands of very precious souls; and at last, by the craft of some *Simons*, this became the *Trojane* horse, to carry in its belly, and let down in the midst of our Citie and Temple, the whole Popery of *Rome*, and Tyranny of *Constantinople*, in a way of so deep policy and mighty strength, that onely the wisdom of God was able to discover, and when discovered, his Arm alone was strong enough to break that snare.

Whosoever is unwilling to give to God this glory, we must say he is unacquainted with the counsels, and unattentive to the actions both of God and men, which these by-past yeers in this Isle, upon a high Stage, have been acted, albeit sometimes within, and sometimes without the Curtain.

The original  
of the *Separatists*.

The other Root of *Anabaptism* hath always been sending up to us ungracious fruits, and at this hour is very instrumental to our Woos. When *Cartwright*, *Hildersham*, *Travers*, and many other gracious Divines, by the blessing of God upon their great diligence, had undermined and well-neer overthrown the *Episcopal* Seas, and all the Cathedral Ceremonies; incontinent the Generation of the *Separatists* did start up, and put such retardances in the way of that gracious Reformation, as yet remain, and, except by the hand of God, will not be gotten removed.

It is true, the malignancy of the *Episcopal* party, and emulation of the *Separatists* themselves, would make *Cartwright* and his friends the old Unconformists, to be the Fathers of that Sect; notwithstanding whoever is acquainted with the Times, or will be at the pains, with any consideration, to confer the Tenents of both Parties, or who will advert the issue and sequels of both ways, cannot but pronounce *Cartwright* and all his followers the Unconformists, very free from the unhappinesse of procreating this Bastard: That ill-fac'd childe will father it self; the Lineaments of *Anabaptism* are clear and distinct in the face of *Brownism*.

The Doctrine of the *Anabaptists*, who in great number fled over to *England*, when for their abominable and horrible Crimes, by Fire, and Water, and Sword, they were chased out of both the  
*Germanies*,



*Germanies*, is so like, and in many things so much the same with the Doctrine of the *Brownists*, that the derivation of the one from the other, seems to be very rational.

Nothing more like then that as *Morellius* did learn from the disciples of *Muncer* his Ecclesiastike Anarchy, whereby he troubled the Church of *France*, till by *Beza* and *Sadael*, in the General Assemblies of that Kingdom, he was confounded, and his *Anabaptistike* follies exploded; so that *Brown* and *Bolton* did learn in the same School, that very ravery of *Morellius*, and many other the like, by the which, about the same time, and ever since, they have pitifully vexed the Church of *England*.

*Brownism* is a daughter of *Anabaptism*.

That *Brownism* is a native branch of *Anabaptism*, is also evidenced by the frequent Transition of many from the one to the other. The dissolution of Ice, Snow, or any other vapour into water, argues strongly for their original from that Element. The ordinary running over of *Separatists* to the *Anabaptists*, demonstrates clearly enough who were their fathers of old, and who their best beloved Brethren this day.

But passing the Kinred and Pedigree, let us consider the Family it self, and the persons of greatest note that yet have appeared therein. The first *Separatist* I read of, was one *Bolton*, a man by whom his followers can have small credit; for the finger of Gods Justice stirring in his conscience, made the sense of his Errours so grievous to his soul, that not onely he did publikely at *Pauls Crosse* recant them, but thereafter was so dogged with a desperate Remorse, that he rested not, till by hanging of himself he had ended his miserable days. The truth of the Story is confessed by themselves: That *Bolton* was a Minister of an old separate Congregation before *Browne*: That he did recant his Separation, and hang himself, *Robinson*, the best Advocate for that party, doth liberally acknowledge in his Justification, p. 50. (A)

*Bolton*, the first known *Separatist* in *England*, hanged himself.

The horror of this remarkable Vengeance did not deter *Robert Browne*, first a Schoolmaster in *Southwark*, and then a Preacher at *Islington* near *London*, to take up that banner of Separation, which God, as with a Bolt from heaven, had wrung out of the hands of miserable *Bolton*; albeit that cause did thrive no better with him then with his predecessor.

*Browne*, the second Leader of that way, recanted his Schism, and to his death was a very scandalous person.

When this rash young man; for old he could not be in the 1580 year of God, when he was the prime Leader of that

Sect, having but lately died : when he, I say, had gathered a separate Congregation, and drawn up for the defence of his Way these Writings, whence ever since the best Arguments for that Schism are drawn ; (B) they went over to enjoy their liberty to *Middleburgh* of *Zeland* : But behold the wrath of God following them at the heels ; when there was no disturbance from without, they fell to such jarring among themselves, that soon they broke all to pieces ; the most turned *Anabaptists*, *Brown* himself returned to *England*, recanted his *Brownism*, received a Parsonage at the hand of a Bishop : The course of his life, to his deep old age, was so extremely scandalous, that more then ordinary charity is needfull to perswade that ever he was led with a good spirit. I have heard it from reverend Ministers, that he was a common beater of his poor old wife ; and would not stick to defend publicly this his wicked practice ; also, that he was an open profaner of the Sabbath ; and that his injustice, in not paying the small pittance he was indebted to him whom laziness in his Calling made him to keep for the supply of the cure of his Parsonage, did bring him to prison, in the which, for that very cause, he continued till death.

When the wickedness of this man is objected to *Robinson* his Scholar, he is so far from denial, that under his hand he testifieth it abundantly. (C)

The humour  
of *Barrow* the  
third Master of  
this Sect.

The third Master of this Sect was *Barrow*, the most bitter and clamorous Censurer of all the Reformed Churches of any that yet hath put Pen to Paper, chuse whom you will of the most despitiful Jesuites : let their Books which are most besprinkled with Gall, be compared with *Barrows* *Discovery*, this to my taste is nothing sweeter then the bitterest of them all : And yet there is small reason why with so great arrogance he should have taken in his hand the Censors rod, if all be true of him which his opposites object. However, before he could gather any formed Congregation, his invectives against the Faith, Baptism and Laws of *England* were so excessive, that *Queen Elizabeth*, impatient of his Contumelies, by the evil advice of the cruel Prelates about her, caused him in a morning to be hanged on the Tower-hill.

The strange  
carriage of  
*Johnson* and  
*Ainsworth*, the  
next two Leaders of the  
*Brownists*.

The fourth Leader of this Way was Master *Johnson*, who, afraid at *Barrows* execution, got over, with the Church he had gathered, to *Amsterdam*, and there for many yeers was Pastor to the

the first settled Congregation of *Brownists* we read of.

This man, with *Ainsworth* his Doctor, sent out to all the reformed Churches the Confession of their Faith, in the year 1602. But long it was not till it appeared to the world that no better spirit did reign in that company then in the former Societies of this way.

For incontinent three shamefull Schisms one upon the neck of another, broke out among them : First, many of them turned *Anabaptists*, and were excommunicated. Secondly, Master *Johnson* fell to so great oddes, first with his brother Master *George*, for small matters, and afterward with his father, that he excommunicated them both, and was cursed by both, when he had rejected peremptorily the mediation of the Presbytery of *Amsterdam* for reconciliation. Thirdly, the remnant of the company, a little after, rent in two, upon needlesse Questions : Master *Ainsworth* the Doctor with his half, did excommunicate *Johnson* and his half, who were not long behinde, for they also did quickly excommunicate *Ainsworth* and all his followers.

Hereupon, the War betwixt these two handfuls of people became so sharp, that *Amsterdam* could not keep them both ; for *Johnson*, with his side of the house, got away to *Emden*, where, after his death, that little company, (as I suppose, dissolved and vanished. *Ainsworth's* company, -after his death, remained long without all Officers, very like to have dissolved : yet at last, after much strife, they did chuse one Master *Cann* for their Pastor, but could not agree, til very lately, upon any other Officer, and even yet they live without an Eldership, as they did before without a Pastor. The most of these things are the confessions of the party, (D), the rest are notorious, and will not be denied.

The weight and evidence of *Gods* hand against *Johnson* and *Ainsworth* had so far disgraced that Sect, that in the opinion of the most no man would ever more look after it : Yet two other Divines of very good parts, did set under their shoulders to support it for some longer time ; but so, that in the end they did undermine and undo it, though in a contrary way.

Master *Smith* (a man as I have heard of right eminent parts) falling to that side, and writing against the use of the Lords Prayer, was convinced in a publike meeting by Master *Hilderham*, and others, (for the Unconformists alwayes had the one eye no lesse

The horrible  
ways of *Smith's*  
their sixth  
Master.



lesse intent upon the *Separatists*, then the other upon *Episcopacy*) notwithstanding Master *Smith* (for all his conviction, and open profession upon his knees of his full satisfaction) did relapse, and by his perswasion, moved a great company to follow him out of *England* to *Ley* in *Holland*.

There he persevered not long in concord with his Elder Brethren of the Separation, but quickly accused them all of Idolatry in their worship, for looking upon their Bibles in the time of Preaching, and on their Psalters in the time of singing; (E) and of Antichristianism in their Government, because in their Presbytery they joyned to Pastors, other two Officers, Doctours and ruling Elders, which to him were humane inventions.

Neither here did the spirit of error permit him long to stand: But as in the Preface of his Book of difference from the old *Separatists*, he professeth a resolution of inconstancy: (F) So accordingly he did practise, falling from *Brownism* to *Anabaptism*. And as ordinary *Brownism*, when he was a *Brownist*, did not please his taste, without his own refinings; so turning *Anabaptist*, the common sorts of that way did not please him; (though of the *Anabaptists* there be more kindes then of any other Sect this day extant) yet by none of them all, would his conscience permit him to be Rebaptised; but he needs must Rebaptise himself, and so draw on the just infamy of a *Sebaptist* (G).

The fearful  
end of *Smith*  
his wandrings.

For a recompence of this wantonnesse in erring, behold how the just Lord permitted Satan to lead him, yet one step further: It is not onely a common report, but I have heard it from the gravest and most approved Divines of the Kingdom, That upon his death-bed he became a Preacher of his own perfect righteousness, if not a professed *Arrian*.

A remarkable  
vengeance up-  
on an erring  
spirit.

An example full of horror which God hath set forth, if men will be so wise as to be disciplined in the persons of others, to bridle the petulant wits of this age, who make it, if not their pastime, yet their exercise and glory to impugn, by their Sophisms, the settled Tenents and practices of all Christians before them. Master *Smiths* progresse and end ought to circumscribe their luxuriant spirits within the circle of some moderation, lest all the glory of their new inventions be crown'd with some shameful conclusion. When the infamous practices of Master *Smith* are objected to his party, they have no leaf of excuse wherewith to cover them. (H)

The

The other supporter of languishing *Brownisme*, in its dying dayes, was Master *Robinson*, the most learned, polished, and modelt spirit that ever that Sect enjoyed : it had been truely a marvel if such a man had gone on to the end a rigid Separatist.

This man having gone over from *England* to *Leyden*, with a separate Congregation, did write for a time very handsome Apologies and justifications of that evil way ; but, Doctor *Ames* and Master *Parker* compassionating the man, and pitying that so excellent parts should be so ill employed, laboured him so by Conferences and Letters, that there was great appearance, if his days had continued, he might have proved a happie instrument for the extinguishing and total abolition of that Schism : but God in his wisdom intending some farther use of that great evil, was pleased to take him away in the beginning of his good Work.

*Robinson* the last grave and learned Doctor of the *Brownists*, did in the end undermine his Party.

He came back indeed the one half of the way ; he ruined the rigid Separation, and was the Author of a Semi-separatism, printing in his later times against his former Books, the lawfulness of communicating with the Church of *England* in the Word and Prayer, albeit not in the Sacraments and Discipline : This was a fair Bridge, at least a fair Arch of a Bridge for union ; but the man being removed by death before he could perfect what he had begun, his new Doctrine, though it was destructive to his old Sect, yet it became an occasion of a new one not very good.

It was the womb and seed of that lamentable *Independency* which in *Old* and *New-England* hath been the fountain of many evils already, though no more should ensue, as anon shall be declared : Onely here we observe, that the last two best-gifted Leaders of the *Brownists*, have been the reall Overthrowers of that Way : for ever since the time of their conduct, these of *England* whole humour carried them out of the bosome of their Mother Church, have turned either to *Smiths* Anabaptism, or to *Robinsons* Semi-separating *Independency*. These kindes are multiplied exceedingly ; but for the old *Brownists*, their number either at *London* or *Amsterdam*, is but very small ; and their way is become contemptible not onely to all the rest of the world, but to their own children also ; even they begin to heap coles of contumelies upon their parents heads, as may be seen in the Elogies which both Master *Cotton* (I) and the five Apologists are pleased to give them in Print : (K) Yea, so much are these children ashamed of their fathers, that they

*Robinson* the author of *Independency*.

usually take it for a contumely to be called after their name. No Independent will take it well at any mans hand, to be called a Brownist either in whole, or in the smallest part.

### The Testimonies.

(A) Robinsons Justification, p. 50. *It is true that Bolton was (though not the first in this way) an Elder of a separate Church in the beginning of Queen Elizabeths days; and falling away from his holy profession, recanted the same as Pauls Crosse, and afterwards hanged himself, as Judas did.*

(B) Giffard against the Donatists, about the beginning. *Who-soever shall read Brown his Books, and peruse all his Scholars Writings, shall see that they have no sharp arrow but which is drawn out of his Quiver.*

(C) Robinsons Justif. p. 50. *Now touching Brown, it is true, as he forsook the Lord, so the Lord forsook him, else he had never so returned back into Egypt, as he did: And for the Wicked things which Master B. affirmeth he did in this way, it may well be as he saith; and the more Wicked things he committed in this course, the lesse like he was to continue long in it.*

(D) Johnsons Enquiry, p. 63. *About Thirteen yeers since, this Church, through persecution in England, was driven to come into these Countreys: A while after, divers of them fell into the Hereses of the Anabaptists; and so persisting, were excommunicated by the rest: Then a while after, many others, yea too many, though not the half, fell into a Schism from the rest; and so many as continued therein, were cast out. Also, Robinsons Justification, p. 51. True it is, that George Johnson, together with his father, taking his part, were excommunicated by the Church for contention arising at the first upon no great occasion; whereupon many bitter and reproachfull terms were uttered both in word and writing. It is to us a just cause of Humiliation all the days of our lives, that we have given, and do give, by our differences, such advantages.*

(E) Smiths Differences, p. 4. *The reading out of a Book, is no part of Spiritual Worship, but the invention of the Man of Sin. Books and Writings are in the nature of Pictures or Images, and therefore in the nature of Ceremonies, and so by consequent the reading of a Book is Ceremonial: The holy Scriptures are not to be retained as*



as helps before the eyes in the time of Spiritual Worship: It is unlawful to have the Book before the eyes in singing of Psalms. The Presbytery of the Church is uniform: the reformed Presbytery consisting of three kinds, Pastors, Teachers, and Elders, is not Gods Ordinance, but Antichristian, and the image of the Beast.

(F) Bernards plain Evidences, p. 19. Smith in his Epistle before his Differences, because he is found so unconstant, to wipe away the shame thereof, and to cut off offence for afterward; he without shame professeth to be unconstant, and desireth that ever his last Writing should be taken as his present judgement.

(G) Ibid. He hath founded a new Church; he hath, if ye will believe him, recovered the true Baptism, and the true matter and form of a true Church, which now onely is to be found pure among a company of Sebaptists. Master Smith will hold ever this word Se to himself, for going into Brownism; he was a Separatist, he held differing opinions from them; and now that he is in Anabaptism, he is a Sebaptist, he wholly goeth not with that heretical Sect.

(H) Robinsons Justif. p. 53. Master Smith his instability, and Wantonneffe of wit, is his sin, and our crosse.

(I) Vide caput tertium O.

(K) Ibidem.

## CHAP. II.

*The Doctrine of the BROWNISTS.*

**T**He peculiar Tenents of the *Brownists* wherein they differ from other *Protestants*, are many : Those that occur to my minde from some slight and cursory reading of some of their Books, shall briefly and plainly be set down ; but with this premonition, That every thing mentioned, be not taken for an Article of *Brownism* ; for it is needful at some times to interlace Tenents which are common to them with others, for the clearing of those which they have peculiar.

Their differences run most upon the Constitution and Government of the Church : They have also divers Singularities about the Circumstances and Parts of the Service of God ; also concerning the Magistrate, and Schools, and divers other things. Without affectation, or curious search of Method, we shall propound matters as they come to hand.

They hold that all Churches in the world but their own, are so polluted, that they must be separate from.

Concerning the Constitution of the Church, consider their judgement, first, what they think of others, then what of themselves. All other Churches they condemn, so far, as to profess and practise a Separation from them. The edge of their Arguments, is usually directed against the Church of *England* alone ; but when their Doctrine or Practise is looked upon a little more neer, it appears they shoot their Bolts at all other Churches in the world which refuse their Way.

Their injurious slanders of the Church of *England*.

For the Church of *England*, they say it ought not to be called a Church ; or at best, that it is a false and Antichristian Church, out of the which every one (though not persecuted) must flee, as they would avoid damnation. (A)

Yet sometimes they say that communion may be kept therewith both in preaching and prayer.

Sometimes, in their calm mood, they will give better words, and acknowledge it to be a true Church, That the Doctrine and Sacraments thereof are true, That many thousands of its members are gracious and elect people. (B)

But their ordinary language is of another strain, to wit, That the Church of *England* is a meer Harlot, divorced from Christ, (C) That the Worship thereof is grosse Idolatry, and the Service of the

the devil, (D) That all the members thereof are unclean beasts, and the limbs of Antichrist, (E) That her best Preachers that preach most for Reformation, are but Pharisees and Deceivers, (F) That the Faith, Grace and Comfort which by their Ministry they seem to bring to the hearts of the hearers, is but meer delusion, (G) That their Sacraments are Seals, not of Grace, but of the wrath of God, (H) That all Communion with her, even in the Word and Prayer, is to be forsaken. (I)

The Unconformists did always zealously plead against the Corruptions of that Church, but never against the truth of her being, or the comfort of her Communion: When by the force of persecution they were driven out, then they did flee: Of their own accord they did never separate, but were ever most glad to live and die in her bosome, willing to partake of her Worship and Sacraments, whenever they were permitted to dissent in Doctrine, and to abstain in practice, from those things which they conceived to be corruptions. (K)

Concerning other Reformed Churches, though free both of Liturgies and Bishops, and many other of the English stumbling-blocks, notwithstanding all their Reformation, yet they pronounce their Worship to be idolatrous, (L) their Government tyrannous and Antichristian, (M) yea, their very Constitution both in matter and form to be so vitious, (N) that with a good conscience they cannot communicate with any of them, (O) that the reformed *Presbyteries* and *Synods* are no better then the *English Episcopacy*; (P) yea, to *Episcopacy* they are so favourable, that they profess their willingness to acknowledge all their Civil Power, and much of their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; (Q 1.) that the *Presbyterian* Divines have ever been as evil as *Episcopal*; (Q 2.) that the vitious constitution and government of the most reformed Churches in *Europe*, hath flowed from the ignorance and obstinacy of unhappie *Calvin*. (R 1.)

We must not be deceived with their pleasant words, when they make fair professions of their hearty agreement in so many things with the other Reformed Churches, and of their willingness to communicate with them both in Word and Sacraments. (R 2.) These flatteries are contradictory both to their Doctrine and Practice; for when they had left *England*, they were so far from joyning with any of the Reformed, that they ever erected new Churches.

Their like dealing with all the other reformed.

Their flattering of forreign Churches, is not to be credited.



Churches after their own way, and made it an open and avowed cause of Excommunication for any of their Members to communicate with the Churches of *Holland*, among whom they did live; (R 3) also the crimes of the Church of *Holland*, which they cry out upon, are such which none of the Reformed Divines do condemn. (S)

On the other side, the *Nonconformists* whom the *Episcopal* persecution did banish out of *England*, were ever well content without erecting of a new Church, to joyn themselves as Members to any of the forrain Churches, *Scottish*, *Dutch*, or *French*, according as they understood their Language, or had occasion of abode among them.

The matter of a Church they make to be real Saints onely.

Thus they do judge of others. As for the form of that Tabernacle which they professe to build for themselves, thus we may conceive it: The matter or members of that Church, they avow to be Saints; but the Members of other Churches, they pronounce them for the most part to be wicked and flagitious. (T)

Their unreasonable strickenesse in this one point, is the great cause of their Schism.

The *Nonconformists* with all the reformed, are willing to admit of no others to the Lords Table but these who are Saints by calling, in whom they require three qualifications: First, That they have a good measure of knowledge, and professe to beleieve the truth. Secondly, That in their life and conversation, they be without scandal. Thirdly, That they be submissive to the Discipline of the Church: But the Brownists presse a fourth qualification; Were a mans profession never so fair, and his knowledge never so great: In all parts of Doctrine, let him be most Orthodox, and in his Conversation most harmlesse, and inoffensive; were he never so willing to joyn in all the Ordinances of God, and to be governed according to the strictest Discipline of Christ; notwithstanding all this, they count him not qualified to be a Church Member, except he declare publikely in the face of the Congregation, such clear and certain signes of his real Sanctification, and true Regeneration, as gives full satisfaction, not onely to the Minister and Elders, and many of the people, but to all and every one, or at least the major part of the Church. (V)

If any prophane person should be admitted, he should quickly so far pollute the whole Church, that every Member thereof must needs become partaker of his sins; (X) And if upon admonition they did not excommunicate him, they themselves ought to

to be separated from, as an infected and leprous Society.

(Y)

They tell us yet more, that not onely the profaneness of one person doth pollute the whole Church, but any one sin or error of any one Member, though godly and regenerate, if after admonition he continue therein, and be not excommunicate, doth so defile the whole, that it must be separated from. (Z) To distinguish here betwixt sins greater and lesser, to make some errors Fundamental, and some preter-Fundamental, it is to them a following of the Papists in their absurd distinction of mortal and venial sins; the least Error joyned with obstinacie, to them is an Heresie, and a just cause of Separation. (A A)

They acknowledge it is the fancy of the *Anabaptists* to separate for every fault and error; but that which alone displeaseth them in this fancy, is a fault whereof the *Anabaptists* seem not to be guilty, the not advertising of the Church of the fault and error of the Member they complain of before they separate; If this neglect be helped, the rest of the fancy they seem to approve.

(B B)

Thus much for the matter of their Church; the form of it, not Accidental, but Essential and Constitutive, they place in an explicite Covenant, (C C) wherein, all and every one of the Members, by a voluntary Association, without the Authority of either Magistrate, or Minister, do binde themselves under a solemn Oath to walk in the wayes of the Gospel. (D D.)

When two or three, or some very few, (for they require no more then seven to a full and perfect Congregation; (E E) and they professe it unlawful to admit any more then can commodiously at one time in one place, partake of all the Ordinances.)

(F F) If when these few, I say, have departed not onely from the *English*, and the rest of the Reformed, but also from every Church of their own way, wherein they finde the least error or sin of any of the Members, whereof they have complained, not to be amended, either by the Repentance or the Excommunication of the party: (G G) The Association of these men, thus separate into a Covenant, is the essential form of their Church.

But the association must be so voluntary and free, as not to wait for the countenance of any Authority, either Ecclesiastick, or Civil; to supplicate the Magistrate for his favour in the gathering

The least sin of any Member of a Church defended, is a just cause of Separation.

They place the Form of their Church in an expresse Covenant.

Seven may make a perfect Church, yea, two or three.

The erecting of a Church requireth, neither the Magistrates, nor Ministers assistance.

ing of a new Church, is to them a sin ; ( *HH* ) and to erect a Church by the help of any Minister, to them is a contradiction : For the Church newly erected, makes the Minister ; but no Minister can gather or erect a Church. ( *II* ) If a person, who elsewhere hath been a Minister, become the Author or Instrument of erecting a Church, he is not then a Minister, but a meer private man, till the Church so erected by a new call and ordination by themselves, doth make him again a Minister.

They put all Church power in a handful of people, without any Pastor.

Unto their Church so constituted in matter and form, were their number never so small, before it attain to any Officer, either Pastor, or Doctor, or Elder, they ascribe great power and fair privileges ; not onely the power of Doctrine, but of Ordination, and all Jurisdiction ; even a full right to all the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and every privilege of any visible Church, how perfect so ever. ( *KK* )

The Election, Ordination, Deposition, and Excommunication of the Minister, belongs to the flock, and to it alone.

This their new Church, they will have to elect the Pastor, and all other Officers ; if a Pastor should come to them by the presentation of a Patron, or nomination of a Presbytery, however they did not oppose, yea, did consent to his admission, yet if they were not the Electors, and first Nominators, the man should be an intruder and a Woolf, whom they might not lawfully hear. ( *LL* )

The Pastor being chosen, and that out of their own number, usually some Artificer, or Tradesman (for they do not require Letters in their Pastors :) and so far in their Elections, they tie themselves to their own Members, that if any other were found meet and willing to be an Officer among them, he must first enter into their Covenant, and become a Member before he were capable of any Office. ( *MM* ) When I say they have elected him a Pastor, the same, and no other then who did elect, do give him Ordination ; for the right and exercise of Ordination, ( *NN* ) they ascribe to the people, that is, according to *Ainsworth*, and others, (if we beleeve *Johnson*) every Member of the flock, even Women and Children. ( *OO* ) But according to *Johnsons* minde, onely the men of the flock, excluding Women and Children ; yet including the meanest and most ignorant of all the men who are Communicants : To these they ascribe the power of Ordination, who in the exercise of it, appoint some of their number, whom they think fittest to ordain the Pastor, that is, to examine him in all the needful



needful qualifications of his life and doctrine, to exhort him to all the parts of his duty, publicly to pray for him, and at last to lay hands upon his head. (P P)

The Pastor so elected and ordained, becomes a servant, not only of Christ, but of that flock from whom he hath (as they speak) originally (Q Q) all his power to Preach, or celebrate the Sacraments, or to do any other part of his Office: wherein if he fail, any one of the people hath power to admonish and reprove him publicly; (R R) and the greater part of the people in any Congregation agreeing (suppose they were four, when the whole makes seven) have full power to depose and Excommunicate him (S S); much more have they power to cognosce, and definitively to determine upon the nature of Heresie, Superstition, Errour, or of any crime which procures these censures.

When the major part of the people have cast out the Minister, and all the Officers, and so many of the flock as adhere to them, no part of their power by this ejection is lost, still they keep their full right to all the Ordinances of Christ; any of them who is thought able, may prophecy, that is, publicly expound the Word, and apply it for instruction, reproof, comfort, and all other uses: (T T) Any of them may pray in the Congregation, any may Ordain, any may Excommunicate; they give expressly a full power to every one of admonition and rebuke, yea, of censuring so far the whole, that if they refuse to follow the just admonition of any one, he ought to denounce the judgements of God publicly against them all, and separate from them as from an obstinate and cursed society. (V V)

Every man of the Congregation may Preach and publicly rebuke, nor only the Pastor, but the whole flock, yea, and separate from it.

The onely question remains about the Sacraments; all of them agree, that the smallest and weakest Congregation may choose and ordain one of their own number when ever they will, to be Pastor, and so to celebrate the Sacraments to the rest; (X X) but the most of them say, that unlesse they have appointed a Pastor for that end, none of the rest can lawfully celebrate a Sacrament: (Y Y) Yet others of them make a Quære hereof; (Z Z) for say they, since the Church without Officers hath the free exercise of all other power, in Preaching, Prayer, and Censures; why may not the like be said of the Sacraments? These men after their scrupling for sometime, as their custome is, come up at last to conclude and practise celebrating Sacraments without any Pasto-

Some of them give the power of the Sacraments also to private persons.

rall charge, of Baptism it is certain; for Master *Smith* professing himself a meer private man, having renounced his former Ministry and Baptism also, took upon him to baptise himself; and who lawfully may celebrate the one Sacrament, may as lawfully celebrate the other.

The solemnizing of marriage they give to parents, but divorces they commit to the parties themselves.

When all the power is ascribed by them to their Church, yet peremptorily they deny to it the power to solemnize marriage; (A A A) for marriage to them is not onely a contract meerly civil, but such a one as concerns the Church nothing at all; so they remit it wholly to the Magistrate, or else to the Parents, (B B B) to be solemnized in private Families; and as their marriage is private, so likewise must their Divorces, without the cognizance either of Magistrate or Minister. (C C C) They were wont to teach that adultery, did so far annul marriage, that it was a sin, and the cause of excommunication for the innocent party to forgive, and cohabit any longer with the party nocent; albeit, they professe their retractation hereof, making it now free for the innocent party, either to depart or abide with the nocent, as they finde it expedient, and all this without any legal proceffe. (D D D)

They make every Congregation Independent, and of sovereign Authority.

The power which they grant to their smallest Congregations, is very great; but they adde one circumstance to it that makes it high above measure; All the power of their smallest Congregations must be Independent and Sovereign, that is, absolutely Supreme upon Earth, depending immediately upon Christ, and none else; for they deny all Ecclesiastick Authority above a particular Congregation, which goes beyond a meer advice and counsell. (E E E)

So that if the most part of a people in a Congregation should turn Heretical, and extremely wicked, excommunicating their Pastor, their Doctor, their Elders, and whole Consistory, onely for truth and righteousness. For all this, no persons on Earth, not an Occumerick Synod shall have any more power to controule them, then the meanest of their own servants; for to the meanest servant they give power to admonish, reprove, rebuke, and to separate from the whole Church, when it is obstinate in any evil, and more power then this they will not give to the greatest, and best Synods, over a Congregation of a very few, sometimes very ignorant and weak persons. (F F F)

They

They do not deny that Presbyteries and Synods are the Ordinances of God, which have many profitable uses; (G G G) but the Synods they allow of, must have these conditions. Their Judgment of Synods.

First, They will have them onely occasional and elective, not set or ordinary, but as any Church shall have need to call together whom they think meet for their help and advice, in what matters they think good to propound. (H H H)

Secondly, The Members of their Synod must not be onely Ministers and Elders, and men cloathed with Commissions; but all who please to come without exclusion of any. (I I I)

Thirdly, All who come, as well People as Officers, must have free liberty, both of debate and voting decisively. (K K K)

Fourthly, Nothing must go by number, or pluralitie of voices. (L L L)

Fifthly, In their Synods there must be no Moderator, no Prolocutor for the ordering of the Action. (M M M)

Sixthly, They will not be content that any Synod should have the least power of jurisdiction to censure the wickedest Heretike who is infecting all about him far and neer with the vilest Errors. (N N N)

In these their fancies they please themselves so well, that they avow the very Crown, Scepter, and Throne of Christs Kingdom to consist in them: (O O O) That the Churches so constituted and governed, are nothing lesse then the new Jerusalem coming down from Heaven: (P P P) That all the Reformed Churches for their aberration from this Constitution and Government, are either no Churches at all, or but Babylonish and Adulterous Churches, or at best, but corrupt Societies from which a Separation is necessary. Their high conceit of their own way, and injurious, depressing of all others.

In things concerning the Worship, they have crotchets not a few upon the Maxime that all Monuments of Idolatry must be abolished precisely, according to the Laws of the old Testament; they will have all Churches that were builded in the time of Popery, made level with the ground, (Q Q Q) their Bells to be broken, yea, all Bells to be unlawfull, being Humane and Popish inventions. (R R R) Churches, Bells, Pulpits, Tithes, Glebes, Man-ses, and all set maintenance of Ministers, are unlawful. Not so much as a Church-yard must be kept up for burial, but all must bury in the fields.

Not so much as a Church-yard must be kept up for Burial, but all must bury in the fields. (S S S)

What ever of old was dedicated to the maintenance of the



Worship of God, they will have it all rejected as an Instrument of Idolatry: But herein they seem to deal scarce fairly with the Law; for howsoever they presse the casting down of the Churches, the breaking of the Bells, the abolishing of the Idols, and all that belonged thereunto; (TTT) yet they do leave to the Magistrate, or to any, who in this are serviceable to their humour, the rich rewards of the Gold, Silver, Brasse, Vestments, Timber, Stone, Lands and Rents, which belonged to these Churches, to be possessed by them with a very good Conscience, and without the least scruple of any Sacriledge. (VVV)

However they do maintain, that all the Officers of their Church, not onely Pastors, and Doctors, but every one of their other four sorts of Ministers, Elders, Deacons, Helpers, Widows, (XXX) ought in Conscience, and by Divine right to be (by the Congregations, which they serve) (YYY) provided for; yet they are so far from permitting any of them to enjoy the least portion of the old Rents of the Church, that they avow Parsonages and Viccarages, Glebes, and Manfes, to be altogether unlawfull. (ZZZ) That for a Minister to crave any Tithes, or for any man for all that either Laws or Magistrates can command, to pay any Tithes, is a sin which abolishes from Christ. (AAAA)

They drive the abolishing of Church-rents, so high as to make all goods common.

They adde further, That all set-maintenance to Church Officers, is against the Gospel; that it is the Will of Christ, that Ministers now be provided for in that same way as himself and his Apostles were of old, onely by the voluntary Contributions and meer alms of the people: They drive on this point so far, as to come up in termes to the *Anabaptists* Tenent of making all goods common. (BBBB)

The days of the week, the moneths, the year of God, they will not name.

Their hatred of Idolatry is so great, that they professe it unlawfull, so much as to mention in any civil way, the names of places or times that carry any footstep of any ancient Idoll, Saint *Andrew*, Saint *John*, *Peter* or *Pauls* Church: *Munday*, *Tuesday*, *Wednesday*, *Sunday*; *January*, *February*, *March*; those and the like words to them are profane and unlawful (CCCC): The very year of God displeaseth them; they will have it called, *The year of the Saints last patience* (DDDD).

No pulpits, no hour-glasses, no Churches, no Gowns.

They will have no Circumstance in the Worship determined, not so much as by custom, much lesse by Law; there must be no limitation of Preaching either to time or place. Pulpits they scorn,

scorn, they call them Priviledged Tubs (EEEE). They laugh at preaching to an Hour-glasse (FFFF). To preach in a Gown, is to them little better then a Surplice, or a Fryars Coul. That Penitents in their publike confession should stand in a peculiar place, or in any habit diverse from ordinary, is to them a matter of mockery (GGGG).

As for the parts of the Worship, in all of them they have some one singularity or other: They make all set-prayer, the very Lords Prayer it self used Prayer-wise, not onely to be inconvenient and unlawful, but to be Idolatry, and the worship of the devil HHHH; howbeit Master *Robinson* here corrects his companions, and professeth that set-prayer, in some cases, is very lawful worship IIII.

All set prayer, even the Lords prayer, and all Psalms in meeter, yea in prose, if used as praises, are unlawful.

The singing of Psalms in meeter, not being formal Scripture, but a Paraphrase, to them is unlawful (KKKK); much more the singing of any other songs in the Church, which are not expresse Scripture. They permit to sing Psalms in Prose, not as an act of immediate praise LLLL; for set-Praise would be as idolatrous as set-Prayer; but as a matter of instruction and comfort, whereby God is glorified, as by all other actions, whether natural, moral, or spiritual, which are done in faith.

But herein Master *Smith* is wiser then his fellows, telling us, That all Songs in the Church out of a Book, whether in Verse or Prose, are Idolatry (MMMM); yet he admits of singing such Psalms as the Spirit dictates to any person immediately without Book (NNNN).

It seems the Brownists at *Amsterdam* have recanted their error in this point; for all of them sing now in strange tunes the Psalms in meeter, of *Ainsworths* exceeding harsh Paraphrase.

Preaching of the Word, to them is no Pastoral act, but is common, not onely to all the Officers, but to every gifted Brother of the Flock (OOOO).

Their opinion of preaching & Sacraments.

The word *Sacrament* to them is traditional, corrupt, and not to be used (PPPP).

The Baptism of the *English* Church they make to be vain, and nul, the seal of no grace, but onely of wrath and condemnation (2222); yet they will not have it repeated.

They teach, that the Lords Supper should be celebrated every Lords day (RRRR): So preparation-Sermons before, and Sermons for Thanksgiving after the Lords Table, to them are needlesse. They

Their strange way of celebrating the Lords Supper.

will have all to sit at the Lords Table with their Hats on : uncovering of the head in the act of receiving, to them is Idolatry (SSSS). In this the present practice at *Amsterdam* contradicts their Doctrine ; for however they sit covered in time of all the reading and discourse ; yet when it comes to the participation of the elements, every man , during the time of his eating and drinking, sits uncovered.

They reject  
catechisms, the  
Apostles  
Creed, and all  
reading of  
Scripture with-  
out exposition.

They count it la wful to joyn with the Lords Table Love-feasts (TTTT).

They reject all Catechisms, being set, and so unlawful forms of instruction (UUUU). After a member is once received amongst them, they enquire no more for his knowledge , having once gotten satisfaction, at his admission to Membership, of his sufficient knowledge.

The Apostles Creed they detest , as an old Patchery of evil stuff (XXXX): Christs descent into hell, they count a blasphemous Article (YYYY).

They reject all publike reading of the Word which is not backed with present Exposition (ZZZZ) : They do not any way scruple the Office of Readers and Expounders ; for they give full liberty of publike and ordinary Preaching to any gifted man of the Flock, though he have no Office.

After preach-  
ing, they pro-  
phesie.

When the exercise of Reading, Expounding, Singing of Psalms, Praying and Preaching by the Pastor, is ended, they will have one, two, three, or four, to prophesie in order AAAAA ; and all to have a free liberty of continuing so long as they think meet.

Then comes  
the conference.

After all this is done, they have yet another exercise, wherein, by way of conference, questioning and disputation, every one of the Congregation may propound publikely, and presse their Scruples, Doubts and Objections against any thing which that day they have heard BBBBB.

Brown for li-  
berty of con-  
science.

And, as if all these Exercises were not enough to tire out a spirit of Iron, the most of them being repeated again in the afternoon , for a conclusion of all , they bring in the laborious and long work of their Discipline , for which the whole Flock must stay till they have heard, debated and discerned every cause that concerns either the Officers, or any of the people, whether in Doctrine or Manners CCCCC.

Concerning the Magistrate, Master Brown teacheth, that he hath  
no



no right to meddle at all with any matter of Religion, but to permit the liberty and free choice of Religion to the conscience of every one of his Subjects *DDDDD*. The most of *Browns* followers do leave in this their Master, making it a great part of the Christian Magistrates Office to suppress, within their own Bounds, Idolatry and False doctrine *EEEE*; To compel all their Subjects, if they will not be perswaded, to hear the Word preached, albeit no way to enter themselves members of any Church, or to hinder any to enter in any Church they will, or to erect new Churches of their own framing *FFFF*. Further, if the Magistrate be a member of any Church, they will have him, were he the King himself, to be so far subject to their Church-Censures, that a little small Congregation shall have power, upon his obstinacy in any sin or errour, to excommunicate him, and that without all delay, without any respect to his Crown, more then if he were the poorest servant of the whole Flock *GGGG*; and, which is worst of all, the Prince his Excommunication by the hands of so small & weak a company, must be without all possible relief; for he hath no liberty of appeal to any upon earth *HHHH*; an oecumenike Council may not assaye to loose the knot of that Censure which the hand of the Congregation hath tied.

His followers  
against it;

Their carriage  
towards the  
Magistrate.

But their great Tenent about the Magistracie, is this, That no Prince nor State on the earth hath any Legislative power; That neither King nor Parliament can make any Law in any thing that concerns either Church or State; That God alone is the Law-giver; That the greatest Magistrate hath no other power, but to execute the Laws of God set down in Scripture *IIII*; That the Judicial Law of *Moses* bindes at this day all the Nations of the world, as well as ever it did the Jews *KKKK*: They tell us that whatever God in Scripture hath left free, it may not be bound by any humane Law, whether Civil or Ecclesiastike; and what God hath bound by any Law in Scripture, they will not have it loosed by the hand of any man.

They spoil  
Kings and Par-  
liaments of  
their Legisla-  
tive power.

They lay it upon the Magistrate to punish by death, without any dispensation, every Adulterer, every Blasphemer, every Sabbath-breaker, and above all, every Idolater *LLLL*. And here is the great danger, that by Idolaters they will have understood, not onely Pagans and Papists, but the far greatest part of all Protestants, all absolutely who are not of their way; for, the using of a

They oblige  
the Magistrate  
to kill all Ido-  
laters.

set

But to spare  
all thieves.

They will have  
the Universities  
destroyed.

Secular authors  
and learning  
must be abo-  
lished.

Preachers must  
 studie no book  
but the Scri-  
ptures.

set Prayer, were it the Lords own Prayer, to them is clear Idolatry *MMMMM* 1. For all this, they will not permit any Magistrate to hang any thief at all *MMMMM* 2.

Against the learning of the Times, they make large Invektives; the Universities, and all the Colledges in them, they will have razed to the ground; they professe them to be worse then the Monasteries that justly were abolished *NNNNN*: whatever Arts and Sciences are taught in the Christian Schools, they count them idle and vain: Grammar, Rhetorick, Logick, Philosophy, are all unlawful Arts *OOOOO*.

The Heathen Writers which are used in any Faculty, such as *Aristotle, Plato, Cicero*, and the like, they would have them all burnt, as the Authors of unlawful Arts. They reject all School-Degrees, such as *Batchelors, Masters of Art, Doctors* of any faculty *PPPPP*. They will have no Students of Divinity *QQQQQ*. They tell us that youths mis-spend their time, and exceedingly abuse themselves, by studying of those things which usually are recommended unto them as preparations for the Ministry, whether Common places, Commentaries upon Scripture, or Protestant writers of Controversies; all such Books they will have laid aside *RRRRR*; yea, it is their advice to reject all Books but the Bible alone *SSSSS*. As for Divinity-Disputations, they make large Invektives against them, as Paganish and very sinful Exercises *TTTTT*; notwithstanding all this, they proclaim themselves great Patrons of all true Learning *UUUUU*; albeit, as yet they have not been pleased to let the world know what kinde of Letters and Books they will be pleased with, when all that hitherto have been known, are laid aside by their perswasion.

### The Testimonies.

A. Barrows Discovery, p. 26. *In this estate, what communion is to be held with the Church of England? What fellowship may the children of God have with such Rebels and Apostates? Can the name of a Church, without blasphemy unto Christ, be given unto them in these sins? They then not being under Christs, protection, nor in the state of Grace, while they continue in their sin, I have often wondered how any man of sound judgement could give them the name of a Church.*

Ebi-

*Ibidem*, in the Preface. *Let the rest no longer tempt God, or be held under the dint of this dreadful Millstone, by any perswasion; but let them save their souls out of this accursed false Church, and joyn themselves to the faithful servants of Christ with all speed.*

The Confession, Art. 31. *These Assemblies standing thus in confusion, cannot be said truly to have Christ their King, Priest and Prophet, neither in this estate can be esteemed the true, visible, orderly, constitute Church of Christ, whereof the faithful may become or stand members, or have any spiritual Communion with them in their spiritual Worship and Administrations: Therefore are all that would be saved bound by Gods Commandment with speed to come forth out of this Antichristian estate, leaving the suppression of it to the Magistrate, to whom it belongs.*

A light for the ignorant, p. 8, 9. *This Whorish Citie hath a Body of false Prophets; whosoever heareth these, or any of these, breaks the first Commandment; for in hearing and obeying these, they hear and obey the Dragon, Beast and Whore that sent them, and gave them their Authority and Office; they use some Divine Truths, to help to set a glosse on their Inventions; but both divine and invented are consecrated and dedicated by the Beast, and administered by his Office.*

(B) Robinsons Apologie, pag. 78. *Convenit nobis quatenus reformatis Ecclesiis Belgicis & aliis cum Ecclesia Anglicana in Articulis fidei hujus Ecclesiæ nomine scriptis; idem in his Book of the lawfulness of the hearing of the Ministers of the Church of England.*

Barrows Refutation of Giffard, p. 21. *We never doubted but the foundation of God stood firm, the Lord having many thousands of his elect among you known to himself. Idem, in his Discovery, p. 119. The errors and faults of Baptism being purged by Repentance, it pleases God, in pardoning the faults, to reserve, and not to have repeated the outward action. Their Apologie, p. 93. We gladly embrace the common faith professed in this Land, as most holy and sound: We have a reverend estimation of sundry, and good hope of many hundred thousands in the Land. Their Confession, p. 8. We testify by these presents to all men, That we have not forsaken any one point of the true, ancient, Apostolike Faith professed in our Land, but hold the same grounds of Christian Religion with them.*

(C) Barrows Discovery, p. 26 *There is no cause to doubt but any of Gods servants may avoid that Congregation which rejecteth Gods*



Word presumptuously, as a Wicked Assembly, and an adulterous Church. Ibid. p.29. I deny these assemblies to be true Churches of Christ, seeing they have broken the Covenant, and cast off the Yoke of Christ.

(D) Barrows Refutation, p 33. We further conclude from the second Commandment, That whatsoever Worship is devised by man, and whatsoever device of man is put in the Worship of God, it is Idolatry: But a great part, if not the whole Worship of God in your Church, is devised by man. If God be not worshipped with this kinde of Worship: Then, to speak as the Prophets and Apostles do, the devil is worshipped thereby.

(E) Apologie, p.54. None can submit unto, or have any spiritual Communion with the Hierarchie aforesaid, but they worship the Beast and his Image, and so make themselves subject to the Wrath of God. Barrows Discovery, p.180. Here would not be forgotten the sweet Psalmodical harmony of the Vultures, Cranes, Owls, Geese; of the Leopards, Boars, Wolves, Dogs, Swine, Foxes, Goats. Pardon me; for thus the holy Ghost termeth the profane confused multitudes in false Churches.

(F) Barrows Discovery, p.52. Disguised Hypocrites, ravening Wolves, that come to us in sheeps clothing, under the glorious titles of Pastors and Teachers, Ministers of the Gospel, men of great Learning, holy Life, sighers for Reformation; these Pharisees, these Sectaries are they that mislead the people in their crooked paths of death. Ibid. p.112. No middle course can here be taken; We must either make the Tree good or evil; These Ministers of the Church of England are true or false: if false, then deliver they no true Sacraments; then is all their Administration, Sacraments and Sermons accursed, how holy soever or neer the Truth in outward shew; then are they the Ministers of Satan, of Antichrist, sent by God in his Wrath to deceive and destroy such as are ordained to death; then ought not the Prince to repair to their Sermons for comfort; then is all the comfort she taketh there, but delusion, even the deceit of Satan; then are they seducers who perswade her to go to them, as whereby they draw her to the Wrath of God, and imminent danger and inevitable destruction, except she forsake them.

(G) Vide f. also Barrows Discovery, p.154. The comfort received from their Preaching, their whole Ministry being accursed, is a fearful signe of the effectual working of their delusions: From their Mini-

*Ministry in this estate, no comfort is to be looked for, but assured destruction; they being of God in his Wrath sent to deceive the children of death, the Reprobates.*

(H) Barrows Discovery, p. 29. *I deny their Sacraments to be the Ordinances of God, seeing to them, in this estate, belong not the Sacraments and Ministry of Christ, but the curse and judgement of God.* Ibid. p. 31. *Such Sacraments can no ways be called the Ordinances of Christ, but rather sure Seals of his Wrath to as many as profane his holy Ordinances, and joyn together in that ungodly and accursed action, until they repent.*

(I) Vide f. also Barrows Dis. p. 43. *There can be no greater allowance of joyning to them, then to make them our mouth or Ministers unto God, or together with such to joyn in any action concerning the Worship of God.*

(K) See Master Balls Confutation of the Brownists.

(L) Barr. Dis. p. 66. *This Book being a publike prescript Liturgie, were it the best that ever was devised by mortal man; yet being brought into the Church, yea into any private house, would be an abominable sacrifice in the sight of God, even as a dead dog. Truly I am ashamed to write of so grosse and filthy abominations so generally received, even of all States of these parts of the world, who of a Popish Custom and Tradition have received it one of another, without any Warrant from the Word.* Ibid. p. 75. *Other more smoothe hypocrites, yet as grosse idolaters, use the Lords Prayer as a close of their own.*

(M) Canns Necessity of Separation, p. 66. *It is all one, whether turning on the left hand we embrace the Idolatry of Bishops, or turning on the other hand we follow the new devices of mens foolish brains; for utter destruction certainly follows both.*

(N) Robinsons Apologie, p. 89. *Quæ nos ad Separationem sollicitant, ipsam Ecclesiæ materialem & formalem constitutionem ejusdemque politeiæ administrationem essentialem spectant.*

(O) Johnf. Enquiry, p. 25. *Seeing by the mercy of God we have seen and forsaken the corruptions which remain in the French and Dutch Churches, we cannot partake with them in such case, without apostacie from the Truth.*

(P) Johnf. Plea, p. 231. *Every particular Church, with their Pastors, stand immediately under Christ the Arch-Pastor, without any other strange Ecclesiastical power intervening, whether it be of*

*Prelates, or other unlawful usurping Synods, or of any such like, invented by man, and brought into the Church. Barrows Dis. p. 261. If we would but lightly examine these secret Classes, these ordinary set Synods which the Reformists would openly set up, they shall, no doubt, be found as new, strange, Antichristian, and prejudicial to the Rights of the Church, as contrary to the Gospel of Christ as the other, What shew soever of former antiquity or present necessity they can pretend. Idem Refut. of Giffard, p. 137. These are the ancient Sects of the Pharisees and Sadduces, the one in preciseness, outward shew of holiness, hypocrisie, vain-glory, and covetousnesse, resembling, or rather exceeding the Pharisees; the other, in their whole Religion, and dissolute conversation, like to the Sadduces, looking for no Resurrection, judgement, or life to come; the one removing from place to place for their advantage and best entertainment, in the error of Ba'aam, for wages, seduce and distract the people of the Lord from their own Churches and Pastors. Sions Royal Prerogative, in the Preface. Whereas the Papists place the power of Christ given to the Church, in the Pope, the Protestants in the Bishops, the Reformed Churches, as they are called, in the Presbytery: Neither of them hath right in this thing, but contrarywise Christ hath given the said power of his to all his Saints, and placed it in the Body of every particular Congregation.*

(Q 1.) *Robinsons Apol. p. 83. Personas Episcoporum vel auctoritatem qua potiuntur civilem in rebus vel civilibus vel etiam Ecclesiasticis non averfamur.*

(Q 2.) *Vide supra F.*

(R 1.) *Bar. Dis. p. 33. Such like detestable stuff hath Master Calvin in his ignorance brought to defend his own rash and disorderly proceedings at Geneva, whiles he at the first dash made no scruple to receive the whole State into the bosome of the Church: yea, that which is worse, and more to be lamented, it became a miserable precedent and pernicious example to all Europe, to fall in the like transgression, as in the confused estate of all those Regions where the Gospel is thus orderly taught, is more then plain.*

(R 2.) *Robins. Apol. p. 7. Profitemur coram Deo & hominibus adeo nobis convenire cum Ecclesiis reformatis Belgicis in re Religionis, ut omnibus & singulis eandem Ecclesiarum fidei Articulis prout habentur in harmonia Confessionum fidei, parati sumus subscribere. Ibid. p. 11. Ecclesias reformatas pro veris & genuinis*



genuinis habemus, cum iisdem in sacris Dei Communionem profiteamur, & quantum in nobis est colimus; conciones publicas ab illarum pastoribus habitas ex nostris qui norunt Linguam Bellicam frequentant; Sacram cœnam earum membris si qua forte nostris cœtib; intersint nobis cognita, participamus: Malis illarum serio ingemiscimus. Apol. for the Brownists, pag. 35. *We are willing and ready to subscribe those Grounds of Religion published in the Confession of Faith made by the Church of Scotland, hoping in the unity of the same Faith to be saved by Jesus Christ, being also like minded in points of greatest moment with all other Reformed Churches; and on the contrary, for Anabaptists, Familists, and all other Heretikes, new, and old, we utterly reject them, and all their Errors and Heresies.* Johnf. plea. p. 245. *I acknowledge the Reformed Churches to be the true Churches of Christ, with whom I agree, both in the Faith of Christ, and in many things concerning the Order and Government of the Church.*

(R 3.) Johnf. Inquiry. p. 57. *Having declined to divers Errors of the Dutch, the Church did excommunicate him, and so still he remains.* Ibid. p. 59. *Yet it is false that we have excommunicate any for the hearing onely the Word preached among the Dutch or French; for these that yet we have cast out here, it hath been partly for revolting from the truth which they professed with us, to the corruptions of those Churches, and partly for other sins.* (S) The Confession, p. 26. *The state of the Dutch Church at Amsterdam is so confused, that the whole Church can never come together in one; they read out of a Book certain Prayers invented and imposed by man; the command of Christ Matth. 18. they neither observe, nor suffer to be observed rightly; they worship God in the Idol-Temples of Antichrist, their Ministers have their set maintenance, their Elders change yearly, they celebrate marriage in the Church, they use a new censure of Suspension.*

(T) Robins. apol. p. 81. *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ constitutio materialis est ex hominum flagitiosorum colluvie, paucis si cum reliquis piis admittis conferantur.*

(V) Canns necessity, p. 167. *He is to come himself into the public Assembly, all looking on him with love and joy, as one that comes to be married, and there he is to make publick Confession of his Faith, to answer divers questions; being found worthy by the consent of the whole, he is to be taken into the Communion.*

(X) Bar. dif. p. 34. *I have sinned, that the known and suffered.*

sin of any Member, is contagious to all that communicate with them in that estate, and maketh them which communicate in Prayers or Sacraments with such an obstinate offender, as guilty in Gods fight as he himself is.

(Y) Bar. dif. p. 34. I have shewed that the whole Church hath no power to dispenſe with the breach of the least Commandment, and that such obstinate sin in the whole Church breaketh the Covenant with God, and maketh it cease to be a Church, or in Gods favour, till it repent.

(Z) Vide supra. X, Y.

(A A) Bar. dif. p. 157. They make this part of Gods Word substantial, that of Form; this Fundamental, that Accidental; this necessary to Salvation, that needlesse; but if the whole Word of God be holy, pure, and true, then is this deep learning of theirs, devilish and blasphemous. Ibid. They thus to colour their wickednesse, make some part of Gods Word Fundamental, Substantial, necessary; other Accidental, Superficial, needlesse, which makes some sins openly and manifestly convinced, yet obstinately persisted in without any repentance in this life, not to be mortal as the Papists do.

Barrows refut. p. 24. We have learned to put difference betwixt Error and Heresie. Obstinaſty joyned to Error after it is duely convinced, maketh Heresie: And further We say, that any Error being obstinately holden and taught, after it is duely convinced and reprov'd, maketh an Heretike; and Heresie in that party, and in that Congregation that so holdeth and teacheth, doth separate from the Faith and Communion of Christ. Ibid. p. 27. It is his Scholastical, or rather Sophistical distinction of Errors Fundamental, &c. They who obstinately hold any Error or Transgression, and will not by repentance be purged, there from lose Christ, and so hold not the Foundation.

(B B) Bar. dif. p. 33. Such like detestable stuff bath Master Calvin in his ignorance, partly to confute that damnable sect of Anabaptists, which fantastically dream to themselves of a Church in this life without spot, and for every Transgression that ariseth, are ready to forsake the fellowship of the Church, without due and orderly reproof.

(C C) Rob. Apol. p. 81. Formalis ecclesiae constitutio est ex fidei & resipiscentiae confessione orali per adultos facta consociatio in particulares coetus.

(D D) Confession of faith, p. 34. Being come forth of this Antichristian

an estate, to the true profession of Christ, beside the instructing of their own Families, they are willingly to come together in Christian communion, and orderly to Covenant and unite themselves in visible Congregations. A light for the ignorant. p. 12. This voluntary uniting, is the form and being of the politick and visible Union and Communion.

(EE) Robins. Just. p. 107. This we bold and affirm, that a company consisting, though but of two or three gathered by a covenant made to walk in all the ways of God, known unto them, is a Church, and so hath the whole power of Christ. Ibid. p. 111. Two or three thus gathered together, have the same right with two or three thousand; neither the smallnesse of the number, nor meaneffe of the persons can prejudice their rights.

(FF) Johns. plea. p. 250. The constitution of every particular Church should be such that each of them may ordinarily come together in one place for the worship of God and all other duties belonging to them, by the Word of God. Rob. Apol. p. 12. Statuimus non debere ecclesias particulares ambitu suo plura membra complecti quam quæ in unum locum simul coire possunt.

(GG) Vide supra. X, Y.

(HH) Bar. dis. p. 190. They suite to bring Christ in by the Arm of Flesh, by suing and supplicating to his vassals and servants: If so be they can imagine them Christians, that will not suffer Christ to reign over them by his Laws and Ordinances. If they judge them no Christians, then they suite and stay on his enemies, till they will suffer Christ to reign and rule over his own Church.

(II) Confession. p. 34. Beside the instruction of their Families, they are willingly to come together, and unite themselves in visible Congregations: Then such to whom God hath given gifts to interpret the Scriptures, may, and ought by the appointment of the Congregation, to prophecy, and so to teach publicly the Word of God, untill such time as God manifest men with able gifts to such Offices as Christ hath appointed for the publique Ministry of the Church, but no Sacrament to be administred untill the Pastors or Teachers be chosen, and ordained to their Office.

(KK) Barr. dis. pag. 34. Which people thus gathered are to be esteemed an holy Church, and hath power to receive into and cast out of their fellowship, although they have attained to have yet among them neither a Ministry nor Sacraments, providing it be not by any defaults:



default in them that they be wanting. Ibid. It is manifest, that all the Members of the Church have alike interest in Christ, in his Word, in the Faith; That all the affairs of the Church belong to the Body together; That all the actions of the Church, Prayers, Sacraments, Censures, Faith, be the action of them all joyntly, and of every one severally, although the Body to divers actions uses divers Members which it knows most fit for the same; all are charged to watch, admonish, reprove, and hereunto have the power of the Lord, the Keyes of the Kingdom, even the Word of the most High, whereby to binde the Rulers in chains, and their Nobles in fetters, to admonish the greatest, even Archippus, to look to his Ministry, and if need be, to plead with their Mother.

(LL) Canns Necessity of Sep. p. 29. None may bear, or joyn in spiritual Communion with that Ministry which hath not a true Vocation and Calling, by Election, Approbation, and Ordination of that faithful People whereto he is a Minister. Ibid. p. 46. So necessary is a right election, and calling, to every Ecclesiastike Office; that without the same, it cannot possibly be true or lawful. Barr. Refut. p. 130. The Minister must not onely be called to a true Office, but must have a lawful calling to that Office; otherwise he is but an intruder, a thief, and a murderer: Every particular Congregation ought to make choice of their own Pastors.

(MM) A Light for, p. 17. In the false Church, the particular Congregations have no Authority to produce or raise Officers out of themselves; for the Clergy is a distinct Body, and sent by their Ecclesiastical Heads, and bring their Office and Authority with them.

(NN) Bar. Refut. p. 19. This power of Ordination is not as the unruly Clergy of these dayes suppose, derived from the Apostles and Evangelists, under the permanent ministry of Pastors and Elders. Ibid. p. 130. Ordination is but a publishing of that former contract and agreement, betwixt the whole Church and those elected Officers, the Church giving, and the Elect receiving their Offices, as by the Commandment of God, with mutual vow to each other in all duties. Canns Necessity of Separ. p. 29. None may joyn with that Ministry which hath not a true calling, by Election and Ordination of that faithful people to whom he is to administer.

(OO) Johnf. Plea. p. 316. It is to be understood according to Ainsworth, Robinson, and Smith, of men, women, and children, in their

their own persons, who are bound in their own persons to be present, to hear and judge controversies.

(P P) Rob. Justifi. p. 9. also p. 111.

(Q Q) Light for the ignorant, p. 17. These Officers have not onely their Authority from particular Congregations, but do arise originally and naturally out of the same.

(R R) Vide supra. K K. Also Bar. Disc. p. 125. The least of the Church hath as much power by the Word of God, to binde the Sin of the Pastor; and upon his Repentance, to pronounce comfort and peace to him, as he hath to binde or loose the sins of the least.

(S S) Confess. p. 23. As every Congregation hath power to elect and ordain their own Ministry, so also have they power, when any such default in Life, Doctrine, or Administration breaks out, as by the rule of the Word deprives them of their Ministry, by due order to depose them; yea, if the case so require, if they remain obstinate, orderly to cut them off by Excommunication.

Canns Necessity, p. 155. If they shall sin scandalously, the Congregation that chose them freely, hath free power to depose them, and put another in their room.

(T T) John. Inquir. p. 7. We have in our Church the use of the exercise of Prophecy spoken of, 1 Cor. 14. In which, some of the Brethren, such as for Gifts are best able, though not in Office of the Ministry, deliver from some portion of Scripture, Doctrine, Exhortation, Comfort; sometimes two at a time, sometimes more.

(V V) Bar. Disc. p. 26. Their is no cause to doubt but any of Gods servants may censure, judge, and avoid that Congregation which rejecteth Gods Word, breaketh Gods Law, despiseth his Reproof and Mercy, as a wicked Assembly, and an Adulterous Church. Ibid. p. 38. Who can deny but that every particular Member hath power, yea and ought to examine the manner of administering the Sacraments; as also, the Estate, Disorder, and Transgressions of the whole Church, and to call them all to Repentance; and if he finde them obstinate in their Sin, rather to leave their Fellowship, then to partake with them in Wickednesse?

(X X) Vide supra. M M.

(Y Y) Vide supra. I I.

(Z Z) Smiths Differences, p. 56. It may be a question whether the Church may not administer the Sacraments before there be any Officers among them.

(AAA) Bar. Disc. p. 121. *I have alwayes found it the Parents office to provide marriage for their children ; and that the parties themselves should affiance and betroath one another in the fear of God, and in the presence of such Witnesses as are present ; and that in their Parents or other private houses, Without turning to the Church or to the Priest.*

Confess. pag. 45. *The Dutch Church at Amsterdam celebrates marriage in the Church, as if it were a part of the Ecclesiastick Administration, while as it is in the nature of it meerly Civil.*

(BBB) Vide supra AAA.

(CCC) Vide supra AAA.

(DDD) Johnf. Inqui. p. 33. *These of our Members that you censure, they avow that they accused themselves of adultery, not for that end to be quit of their wives, but being perswaded in their minds that they ought not to continue with their Wives, having by their adultery broken the bond of marriage. Ibid. This indeed we held the most of us heretofore, and some of us are so perswaded still ; and while we were generally so minded, we thought it our duty to walk accordingly (he means to excommunicate even the innocent party who was pleased to dwell with her Husband after he had sinned) taking the innocent party that retained such offenders, though upon repentance, yet to be defiled and live in sin.*

(EEE) Johnf. Plea, p. 231. *Every particular Church with the Pastor, doth stand immediately under Jesus Christ the Arch-Pastor, without any other strange Ecclesiastical power intervening, &c.*

*Vide supra P. Also Robinsons Apol. p. 17. Non magis erat Petrus & Paulus homo integer & perfectus ex partibus suis essentialibus & integralibus constans, sine relatione ad alios homines, quàm est cœtus particularis recte institutus & ordinatus tota integra & perfecta ecclesia, ex suis partibus constans immediate & independenter quoad alias ecclesias sub solo Christo ; non itaque movendi sub humanæ prudentiæ, antiquitatis, unitatis, aut alio ullo colore ecclesiæ visibilis seu Ministerialis termini antiqui quos posuerunt Apostoli.*

(FFF) Cannguide to Sion, about the midst. *It is sure that Christ hath not subjected any Congregation of his to any superiour Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction then to that which is within it self ; So that if the whole Church shall erre in a matter of Faith or Religion, no other Church or Church-Officer hath any warrant from the Word of God, or power*



power to censure, punish, or controule the same, but are onely to advise them, and so to leave their souls to the immediate judgement of Christ.

*Robins. Apol. p. 18.* Licet imò incumbit Pastori unjus ecclesiæ ut & reliquis membris quod donum accepit sive spirituale sive temporale prout datur occasio, id aliis ecclesiis & earum membris impertiri, ex charitatis vinculo quo illis adunatur, non autem exequi in iis munus publicum ex autoritatis prerogativa quam in suos solos habet.

(GGG) *Johns. Plea, pag. 251.* To this end, and in this manner may be had a profitable use of Synods, Classes, and Assemblies for mutual help and advice in cases of question, controversie, and difficulty about Religion, so that they do not challenge or usurpe any unlawful jurisdiction or power over the particular Churches, and their Governours.

(HHH) *Bar. Disc. p. 261.* These secret Classes, these ordinary set Synods which the Reformists would set up.

(III) *Bar. Refut. p. 81.* In a Christian Synod no Christian ought to be sent out, but all have equal power to speak, assent or dissent, without disturbing the Order of the Holy Church, by presuming to speak before the Ancients, or against any thing said by them without just cause; who so doth, is reprov'd of all, judged of all as a disturber.

(KKK) *Vide supra. III.*

(LLL) *Bar. Disc. p. 261.* In their Synods the matters being debated, the greatest part prevaieth, and carrieth the judgement.

*Ibid. p. 78.* This balloting by suffrage or plurality of voices, might well be a custom among the Heathen in their popular Government, but it is unheard of, and unsufferable in the Church of Christ.

(MMM) *Ibid. p. 261.* The order and manner of these Counsels, is, first to chuse a Prolocutor, Moderator, or Judge to govern, and order the action, who, and when they shall speak, and when cease.

*Ibid. p. 191.* Not here to speak of their solemn Order observed in these Counsels and Synods, as their choice by suffrages among themselves of their Archisynagogos or Rectorchori, their President as they call him.

(NNN) *Vide supra. FFF.*

(OOO) *Bar. Disc. p. 38.* Every Member of his Church is to pronounce upon them the judgements that are written, and to throw upon them the Stone of his judgement and consent: Therefore hath the Lord raised up the Thrones of David in his Church, and set his Saints in seats round about his Throne. A Light for the Ignorant, pag. 10. The true power which Christ our King hath received of

the Father, and communicated to his Saints; and these onely is that dominion which the Ancient of days hath given to his Saints, Dan. 7. 19.

(P P P) Johnf. Plea. p. 321. The Lord hath promised to raise up his Church again to the former integrity, and to set up the new and heavenly Jerusalem in the Ancient beauty thereof.

(Q Q Q) Bar. Disc. p. 139. Their Churches stand in their old Idolatrous shapes, and can never be purged till they be laid on heaps as their youngest Sisters, the Abbacies were.

Confess. p. 39. It is the Office of the Magistrate to destroy all Idol-Temples: The Dutch Church of Amsterdam worships God in the Idol-Temples of Antichrist.

(R R R) Bar. Dis. p. 133. Some of their old Relicks are yet in use, as their Bells, Surplices, &c. We may resolutely detest all such as abominable Idols, such as by the Law of God are devoted to utter destruction; the very Gold of them, Deut. 7. is to be destroyed; in such detestation ought Idolatry to be. God hath such Idol places, and all their furniture in detestation, so that he hath commanded the Magistrate to raze and deface them; so that, neither they can be used to the worship of God, nor we have any civil use of them, seeing they are execrable and devoted to destruction; if the most precious matters be forbidden, how much more the baser Iron, Brasse, &c.

Canns Necessity, p. 122. He that ordained first Bells, was Sabinian the Pope, in the year 603. Whatsoever cometh from Antichrist, cometh from the devil and out of the bottomlesse Pit.

(S S S) Bar. Refut. p. 38. Where learned you to buried in halloved Churches and Church-yards, as though ye had no Fields to bury in. Idem. Disc. p. 126. Me thinks the Church-yards of all other places should be not the convenientest for burial; it was a thing never used till Popery began: It is neither comely, convenient, nor wholesom.

(T T T) Confess. p. 39. It is the Office of the Magistrate to destroy all Idol-Temples, and to convert to their civil Uses not onely the benefit of all such Idolatrous buildings and monuments, but also all the Revenues, Possessions, Glebes and Maintenance of any false Ministry within their own Dominions.

(V V V) Vide supra, T T T, also Bar. Disc. p. 61. Being given to the maintenance of a Popish Ministry, they ought to be put to civil Uses, and not to the maintenance of Christs Ministry.

(X X X) Confess. p. 19. Christ having instituted and ratified to continue to the Worlds end, the Ministry of Pastors, Teachers, Elders, Deacons,

Deacons, Helpers for Instruction and Government of his Church.

YYY. John. Plea, 316. *Whether it be not the duty of all Churches, and of the members thereof, every one according to their ability, to give maintenance unto their Ministers, and as there is occasion, to the Elders also that rule the Church, and to the Deacons and Deaconesses that serve and minister therein.*

ZZZ. Bar. Disc. p. 5. *Parsonages and Vicarages, in Name and Office, are Popish and Antichristian. Ibid. p. 61. Here also by the Way, the unlawfulness of their Glebes is well noted.*

AAAA. *Those men, whether Priest or People, which either pay or receive the Tythes, still keep the Levitical Laws for the maintenance of the Ministry, and thereby abolish the Gospel, and are abolished from Christ, whom we deny to be dead, risen, or ascended, while we maintain the shadow or any part of the Ceremonial Law to be revived. Ibid. p. 91. The Prince demandeth my goods; I am ready and willing to depart with all to him, without all enquiry: But if he command me to give my goods to such an Idol, or after such a wicked manner as by way of Tythes to a Minister, or by way of Pension to an Antichristian Minister; I may not obey, but rather suffer his indignation, yea death.*

BBBB. Bar. Disc. p. 53. *This Shepherd is not limited, nor the sheep constrained to a tent or any stinted portion, but according to the present want of the one, and the state of the other, they together relieving him, and he together bearing the burden of their common poverty; every one that is taught, freely imparting of all his goods to the competent maintenance of such as instruct them, not unto excess, but sufficiency: Which contribution, as it is the duty of the Saints, so the manner of it, it is a free offering of their benevolence, an holy Alms unto the Lord; by contribution and alms, our Saviour Christ, and his Apostles, and all the Officers of the Church, were and are to be maintained. Ibid. p. 61. They are not by rated proportions, as Tenths or Third, but in love to make him partaker of that little or much the Lord sendeth, according to his present wants and necessary uses; who, if he have but food and raiment, ought to be therewith content. Confess. p. 45. At Amsterdam their Ministers have their set-maintenance in another manner then Christ hath ordained.*

BBBB 2. Rob. Ap. p. 36. *Omnia etiam bona corporalia suo modo communia habenda, prout cuique opus æquissimum videtur.*



(CCCC) Bar. Disc. p. 122. *The dayes of their week still are devoted to the gods of the Heathen, having utterly lost the name and order of their Creator: As the first, second, third day of such a week; the first, second, third moneth of such a yeer. Idem. Refut. p. 34. If Luke should call it Mars-street, speaking in his own name, and for himself, he should commit idolatry by naming the creature of God after an Idol. David said he would not take the names of their Idols in his lips, but Luke recordeth onely the story, and the vulgar name of the place.*

(DDDD) See the Preface of the Confession.

(EEEE) Bar. Disc. p. 180. *They have a prescript place like a Tub, called the Pulpit. Ibid. p. 138. In that his priviledged Tub he may Preach what he list.*

(FFFF) Ibid. p. 180. *They are prescribed the time when they begin, they dispute to the Hour-Glasse. Ibid. p. 54. He must Preach a Sermon an hour long.*

(GGGG) Bar. Disc. p. 232. *He may peradventure do his penance before all the Sodomites of the Parish in white sheets.*

(HHHH) Johnf. Plea, p. 245. *Book-Prayer being mens invention, in the worship of God, is a breach of the second command. These Books and stinted Prayers, become indeed to be Idols, supplying the place of the Word and Spirit of God; in which respect such manner of worship becometh Idolatrous and Superstitious, and not to be communicate with; for what agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols?*

Vide supra. D. L.

(IIII) Rob. Apol. p. 20. *Non dubito quin rite & pie usurari possit hæc ipsa forma in precando Deum, modo absit opinio necessitatis & perfectionis.*

(KKKK) Bar. Disc. p. 180. *Here would not be forgotten the sweet Psalmical harmony of the Vulturs, Cranes, &c. All these together with one accord sing some pleasant Ballad, or else to Davids melodious Harp some Psalm in rythme, well concinnate to the ear, though never a whit to the sense, purpose, or true use of the Psalm. Idem. Refut. p. 254. I have not spoken against that most comfortable and heavenly harmony of singing Psalms, but against rhyming and paraphrasing the Psalms as in your Church, and against Apocrypha and Erroneous Ballads in rythme, sung commonly in your Church instead of the Psalms, and other Songs of holy Scripture.*

(LLLL) Rob. Apol. p. 20. *Nego eandem esse rationem pre-cationis & cantionis; ipsi Psalmi quorum materia pre-catione aut gratula-*

gratulatione constat, in hunc finem proprie & primo formantur a prophetis in cantiones & Psalmos spirituales, ut nos edoceant, & quæ vota illi in angustiis constituti ad Deum fuderint, quasque liberati eidem Deo gratias retulerint, ut nos eosdem Psalmos sive psallentes sive legentes, institueremus nos ipsos sive publice sive privatim sive docendo sive commune faciendo sive consolando ad Dei gloriam in cordibus nostris promovendam.

(MMMM) Smiths Diff. p. 4. *That the reading out of a Book is no part of spiritual worship, but the invention of the man of sin; that Books and writings are in the nature of Pictures and Images; that it is unlawful to have the Book before the eyes in singing of a Psalm.*

(NNNN) Smiths differences. Vide supra, cap. 1. E.

(OOOO) Confess. p. 34. *Such to whom God hath given gifts to interpret the Scriptures, ought by the appointment of the Congregation to prophecy, and so to teach publicly the Word of God, until such time as God manifests men with able gifts to such Offices as Christ hath appointed to the publique Ministry.*

(PPPP) Bar. Disc. p. 116. *Shall I speak according to the times and say, Be no true Sacrament? or rather leave that traditional word which ingendreth strife rather then godly edifying, and say, Be no true Seal of the Covenant?* (QQQQ) Vide supra. F.

(RRRR) Johnf. Plea, p. 291. *Whether it be not best to celebrate the Lords Supper where it can be every Lords day; this the Apostles used to do; by so doing we shall return to the intire practise of the Churches in former ages.*

(SSSS) *How corrupt is the signe of the Crosse, kneeling and uncovering of the head at the Lords Supper, and such things which Scripture prescribes not, but men have taken upon themselves, thus breaking the second command, and joyning their Posts and Thresholds with the Lords. Men are thus drawn away from the simplicity of the practise used by Christ and his Apostles, who sat when they ate and drank, and did no more discover then before.*

(TTTT) Johnf. Plea, p. 294. *To have love feasts on the dayes of the Lords Supper, it is a thing indifferent to keep or leave them, as they shall be used or abused, or as every Church shall finde them to be most expedient for their estate.*

(VVVV) Bar. Refut. p. 43. *Not here to mention the binding of the Faith of the Church to an Apocrypha Catechism. Idem. Disc. p. 142. They are not ashamed to Preach and publicly Expound in their Church, their fond Apocrypha Catechisms.* XXXX.

XXXX. Bar. Disc. p. 76. *Their forged patchery, commonly called The Apostles Creed.*

YYYY. His Refut. p. 48. *What Scripture can you bring for the blasphemous Article of Christs descent into hell?*

ZZZZ. Cans Necessity, p. 44. *Bare reading of the Word, and single Service-saying, is an English Popery; and far be it from the Lords people to hear it; for if they would do so, they would offer to the Lord a corrupt thing, and so incur that curse of Malachi.*

AAAAA. Johnf. Enquiry, p. 7. *We have in our Church the use of the exercise of Prophecie, spoken of, 1 Cor. 14. in which some of the Brethren which are for gifts best able, though not in Office of the Ministry, deliver from some portion of Scripture, Doctrine, Exhortation, Comfort; sometimes Two at a time, sometimes more.*

BBBBB. Johnf. Enquiry, p. 7. *Then, if there be occasion, upon the Scriptures treated, or questions propounded and answers made.* Bar. Disc. p. 139. *In that his priviledged Tab, he may speak of what he list; none of his auditory have power to call in question, correct, or refuse the same presently or publikely.*

CCCCC. Rob. Apol. p. 38. *Prorsus inauditum ante hæc nostra sæcula sive inter gentes, sive inter Judæos, sive inter Christianos ut Judicia publica aliive actus naturæ publicæ privatim aut seclusa plebe exercerentur. Ibid. p. 51. Per plebem cujus Libertatē & Jus suffragandi in negotiis vere publicis asserimus, non intelligimus pueros & mulieres, sed solos viros eosque adultos.*

DDDDD. Browns Life and manners of all true Christians, in the Preface, or Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any; and of the wickednesse of those Preachers which will not reform till the Magistrate command or compel them, p. 8. *Know ye not that they which have their full and sufficient authority and calling, are not to care for a further authority? And hath not every lawful Pastor his full authority?* Ibid. p. 8. *The Lord did not onely shew them the Tabernacle, but bade them make it: But these men will not make it at all, because they will tarry for the Magistrate.* Ibid. p. 10. *They could not force Religion, as you would have the Magistrate to do: And it was forbidden to the Apostles to preach to the unworthy, or to force a planting or government in the Church. The Lords Kingdom is not by force, neither durst Moses nor any of the Kings of Judah force the people, by Law or by power, to receive the Church-Government: But after they received it, if then they fell away, and sought*



sought not the Lord, they might put them to death. They do cry Discipline, Discipline, that is, for a civil forcing to imprison the people, or otherwise, by violence to handle and beat them, if they would not obey them. Ibid. p. 11. The Lords people is of the willing sort, they shall come unto Sion, and inquire the way unto Jerusalem, not by force nor compulsion, but with their faces thitherward : And p. 12. Because the Church is in a Common-wealth, it is of the Magistrates charge, that is, concerning the outward Provision and outward Justice they are to look ; but to compel Religion, to plant Churches by power, and to force a submission to Ecclesiastical Government, by Laws and Penalties, belongeth not to them, neither yet to the Church.

EEEE. Confess. p. 32. Leaving the suppression of this Antichristian estate to the Magistrate, to whom it belongeth.

FFFF. Bar. Refut. In the Preface. We acknowledge the Prince ought to compel all his Subjects to the hearing of Gods Word, in the publike exercises of the Church ; yet cannot the Prince command any to be a member of the Church, or the Church to receive any without assurance by their publike Profession of their own Faith, or to retain any longer then they continue to walk orderly in the Faith.

GGGG. Bar. Disc. p. 245. When Princes depart from the Faith, and will not be reduced by admonition or reproof, they are no longer to be held in the Faith of the Church, but are to receive the censure of Christ, as any other, and to be cut off as withered branches : The Church cannot, neither hath in her power to defer the sentence of Excommunication any longer, on hope of further tryal, because they have had already that tryal which God alloweth ; it is a Leaden rule to proceed to the sentence of Excommunication with a Leaden-beel, when the sin is ripe. Ibid. p. 15. Which censures, if the Prince condemn, he condemneth them against his own soul ; and is thereupon, by the power of the Church disfranchised out of the Church, and to be delivered over to Satan, as well as any other offender.

HHHH. John. Inqui. p. 70. We hold it Antichristian to entertain or admit any appeal from one Church to another ; the highest ordained by the Lord for all sinners, is that Church whereof the sinner is a member. And therefore, in urging our Church to submit to another Church, they sought to draw it to Antichristian bondage.

IIIII. Bar. Dis. p. 84. I am perswaded, that the Magistrate ought not to make permanent Laws of that the Lord hath left in our Liberty. Ibid. p. 255. We approve all the Laws of God, to be most  
G holy

*holy and inviolable, and all-sufficient both for Church and Commonwealth, and the perfect instruction of every Member and Officer of the same, in their several duties, so that nothing is now left to any mortal man of what high dignitie and calling so ever, but to execute the Will of God according to his Word.*

KKKKK. Bar. Disc. p. 108. *God will have his Laws and Statutes kept, and not altered according to the State and Policy of times; for these Laws were made, not for the Jews estate, as Master Calvin teaches; but for all mankind, especially for all the Israel of God, from which Laws it is not lawful in judgement to decline to the right hand, or to the left. By the neglect of these Laws, the whole world overflows with sin. Ibid. p. 212. In the Commonwealth they have abrogated all Gods Judicial Laws, and cut them off at one blow, as made for the Commonwealth of the Jews onely, as if God had no regard of the conversation of other Christians, or had left the Gentiles in greater liberty to make Laws and Customes to themselves.*

LLLLL. Ibid. *Hereby it cometh to passe that so many ungodly Laws are decreed, and the whole course of Justice perverted, that so many capital mischiefs as God punisheth by death, such as blaspheme the Name of the Lord, open Idolatry, Disobedience to Parents, are not by Law punished at all: Incest and Adultery, are either past over, or punished by some light or trifling punishment. Ibid. p. 155. The High-Commission punishes the most execrable Idolatries but with prisons or forfeitures, making it a pecuniary matter, contrary to Gods Word.*

MMMMM. 1. Vide HHHH.

MMMMM. 2. Bar. Dis. p. 211. *Theft, if above thirteen pence, is punished by death.*

NNNNN. Bar. Dis. p. 55. *The University of Oxford and Cambridge have the same Popish and Idolatrous beginning With the Colledges of Monks, Fryers and Nuns; and these Vermin had, and still do retain the same insufferable and incurable abuses; therefore Queen Elizabeth ought by good right to abolish them as her Progenitors did the Abbeyes.*

OOOOO. Ibid. p. 177. *They repair to the Universities to be instructed in Heathen and vain Arts: The Churches of Christ have not such Heathenish and Idolatrous customes; they have no such prophane Arts, vain Education and Literature. Ibid. p. 56. We finde them all generally the Seed of Unbelievers, nourished in all manner of Prophane.*

Prophanenesse, Heathenism, vain and ungodly Sciences; their Education from their cradle is ungodly in the common Schools, where they must learn their Greek and Latin from lascivious Poets or Heathenish Philosophers: With this Liguor are their Pitchers at first seasoned; there are they trained up in Logick, Rhetorick and Philosophy; which Learning they draw from Aristotle, Cicero, and such like; there they learn to speak by Art Syllogisms and Tropes.

Idem. Refut. p. 89. This I dare affirm, that from the Book of God, they never derived these their Colledges, Schools, Halls, Orders, and Degrees; that I may not say Arts, Authors, Exercise, use of Learning, Disputations, Commencements. They fight with their School-Learning, vain Arts, Philosophy, Rhetorick, Logick, against the Truth and Servants of God.

PPPPP. Vide supra. N. O.

QQQQQ. Vide RRRRR 2.

RRRRR 1. Bar. Dis. p. 179. In the Church of Christ, the name and offices of Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Dean of Faculty, Masters of Colledges, Fellows, Beadels, Bursours, and all their several Statutes and Customes are strange; as also, their manner of Degrees, Disputing for their Degrees, and Order of Teaching: Neither have any such Universities, Colledges, Society of Schollers, any ground of the Word of God. I see not why they should have any more toleration then their elder Brethren, the Monks, who every way bad as great colour of Holinesse, and shew of Utility to the Church, as they: They have all one and the same Hellish Original they had; and these still retain the same blasphemous incurable abuses, which can no ways be reformed but by their utter dissolution.

RRRRR 2. Bar. Dis. p. 177. The English of Christian Religion, and Profession of the Gospel, I can well away with; but this English Romish abstract of Divinity, I am assured, came forth of this same Forge that the Title of the supreme Head of the Church; and cannot by all the glosses they can devise, be made other then most high blasphemy against the person of Christ, who is the onely Universal Doctor of all his Disciples. Ibid. p. 56. If they continue still, and give their minde to the study of Divinity as they call it, which is as much as to say, The reading of mens writings; with these Feathers they flee, with these eyes they see; which Books being taken from them, they are as mute as fish, as blinde as moles. Ibid. Their Divinity is traditional, wholly derived from other mens Books and Writings, both



for the understanding, dividing, and interpretation of all Scripture; as also for all Questions, Doctrines, and Doubts that arise; and not springing from the Fountain of Gods Spirit in themselves, according to the measure of Knowledge, Faith and Grace given unto them.

SSSSS. Bar. Disc. p. 146. It were much better for the whole Church, that for Prophecy and Doctrine, Preachers would lay aside all Authors, and betake themselves wholly to the Book of God: So should that Book be more soundly understood, so should they see with their own eyes, and not other mens.

TTTTT. Bar. Disc. p. 56. These Questions, as also the whole Scripture, must in these their Schools and Disputations, be insufferably corrupted, wrested, blasphemed, according to the lusts of these Philosophical and Heathen Disputers, which here must handle, divide, discuss according to their vain affected Arts of Logick and Rhetorick: All these prizes must be played in Latin, that the Learning may the more, and the Folly the lesse be perceived, least even the common people should hiss them off the Stage if they spoke in English. Ibid. p. 52. They give liberty to their Wits in their learning to deface, strive, and dispute against the holy known Truth of God, tossing it as a Tenice Ball amongst them, both publikely in their Schools, and privately in their Colledges amongst them.

VVVVV. Bar. Refut. p. 124. I would not here that any should think we condemn any lawful Art, or any necessary Science, or any Holy Exercise, or Schools of Institution. Let their Arts and Sciences be necessary and Godly, not vain, curious, unlawful: Let them be taught, not in a vain-glorious or superstitious manner, but in all sobriety, and the fear of God; If their Universities were framed to these Rules, it were good.

## CHAP. III.

*The Original and Progresse of the Independents, and of  
their Carriage in New-England.*

**T**He Sect (if so without offence it may be called) which this day is the subject of the most discourse, and the object of the greatest passions; some pouring out upon it more of their love and hope, others of their anger and fear, then were convenient, is that of *Independency*.

*Independency* the smallest of all the Sects of the time for number, but greatest for worth of its followers.

Of all the by-paths wherein the wanderers of our time are pleased to walk, this is the most considerable; not for the number, but for the quality of the erring persons therein. There be few of the noted Sects which are not a great deal more numerous; but this Way, what it wants in number, supplies by the weight of its followers. After five yeers endeavours and great industry within the Lines of the Cities Communication, they are said as yet to consist much within One thousand persons; men, women, and all who to this day have put themselves in any known Congregation of that way, being reckoned. But setting aside number, for other respects they are of so eminent a condition, that not any nor all the rest of the Sects are comparable to them; for they have been so wise as to engage to their party some of chief note, in both Houses of Parliament, in the Assembly of Divines, in the Army, in the City and Countrey-Committees; all whom they daily manage with such dexterity and diligence, for the benefit of their Cause, that the eyes of the world begin to fall upon them more then upon all their fellows: It will be requisite therefore that with the greater care we give an account of them.

Of this our Account there shall be three parts. The first, *The division of the following matter.* An History of their Original and Progresse, to that height wherein now they stand. The second, A Narrative of their Tenents. The third, A Confutation of some of their prime Principles.

Concerning their Original; the Separatists were their Fathers. *Independents? the Separatists off-spring.* This is demonstrable, not onely by the Consanguinity of their Tenents, the one having borrowed all their chief Doctrines and Practices.

Practices from the other, but also by deduction of their Pedigree in this clear line.

Master *Robinson* did derive his way to his separate Congregation at *Leyden*; a part of them did carry it over to *Plymouth* in *New-England*; here Master *Cotton* did take it up, and transmit it from thence to Master *Goodwin*, who did help to propagate it to sundry others in *Old-England* first, and after, to more in *Holland*, till now by many hands it is sown thick in divers parts of this Kingdom. But the manner how this seed did grow, is not unworthy consideration.

When the fire of Brownism was dying out in *Holland*, a little of its ashes carried to *New-England*, broke out there into a lasting flame.

When the Separatists for whole Fifty yeers had over-toil'd themselves for little purpose, their horrible Divisions, wheresoever they set up, marring their encrease; behold, at the very point of time when their *Spunk* was dying, and their little smoke, both at *Amsterdam* and *Leyden*, was well-neer vanished, God in his secret providence permitted the tyranny of Bishops, which first had begotten them, to put new life in their ashes, and bring them back from their grave, to that vigour wherein now they appear.

After the death of *Ainsworth*, the *Brownists* at *Amsterdam* came to a small unconsiderable handful, and so yet they remain. No other at that time in the whole world were known of that Religion, but a small company at *Leyden*, under Master *Robinsons* Ministry; which, partly by Divisions among themselves, and partly by their Pastors deserting many of their Principles, was well-neer brought to nought: Onely about the Twenty eighth, as I take it, or the Thirtieth yeer of this Age, some of them going over, for a more commodious habitation, to *New-England*, did perswade their neighbours who sate down with them there at *New-Plymouth*, to erect with them a Congregation after their separate way (*A*).

By what means these ashes were kindled.

This Congregation did incontinent leaven all the vicinity. The Planters in *New-England*, so far as their own informations give notice, not minding Religion for many yeers after their first enterprise (*B*), were ready to receive, without great question, any pious form which might be presented by their neighbours, whose minde served them to be active in such matters. Also that way of new *Plymouth*, beside the more then ordinary shew of devotion, did hold out so much liberty and honour to the people, that made



made it very suitable and lovely to a multitude who had lately stepped out of the Episcopal thralldom in *England*, to the free air of a new world. However it was, without any noise in a few years, the most who settled their habitations in that Land, did agree to model themselves in Churches after *Robinsons* patern.

This for a time, was either not known, or not regarded in *England*. The first who appeared in any displeasure at it, was Mr. *Cotton*; for this reverend man, howsoever he had fallen off from the practice of some, & but of some of the Ceremonies, & was distasted with Episcopal Government, yet so long as he abode in *England*, minded no more then the old non-conformity: In all his opposition to the Episcopal corruptions, he went not beyond *Cantwright*, and the Presbyterians. With the way of the Separatists he was then well acquainted, but declared himself against it in print, as in his Preface to Master *Hildersham's* Sermons upon *John*, may be seen to this day (C). Neither thus alone, but a very little before his voyage to *New-England*, so soon as he understood of the prevailing of *Robinsons* way there, such was his zeal against it, he wrote over to the Ministers who had been the chief instruments of bringing these Churches under that yoke, admonishing them freely of their falling from their former judgement, and that their new Reformation was no other but the old way wherein the Separatists had walked, to the grief and offence of the Anti-Episcopal party in *England*, and of the whole Protestant Churches (D).

Master *Cotton* at first a great oppositor to that way.

Notwithstanding this admonition, the Brethren there went on in their way, yet without any hazard to others, till the 1634. as I take it, or 1635. year of our Lord God, when the yoke of Episcopal persecution in *England* became so heavy on the necks of the most of the godly, that many thousands of them did flee away, and Master *Cotton* among the rest, to joyn themselves to these *American* Churches. Here it was when that new way began first to be dangerous to the rest of the world.

Master *Cotton* with little ado, became the great patron of that Errour.

For Master *Cotton*, a man of very excellent parts, contrary much to his former judgement, having fallen into a liking of it, and by his great wit and learning, having refined it, without the impediment of any opposition, became the great instrument of drawing to it, not onely the thousands of those who left *England*, but also by his Letters to his friends who abode in their Countrey, made

Master Cotton  
the misleader  
of Master  
Goodwin and  
others.

made it become lovely to many who never before had appeared in the least degree of affection toward it.

Before his departure from *England*, by conferences in *London*, he had brought off Master *Davenport* and Master *Goodwin*, from some of the *English* Ceremonies (*E*); but neither of these two, nor himself at that time, did minde the least degree of Separation (*F*); yet so soon as he did taste of the *New-English* air, he fell into so passionate an affection with the Religion he found there, that incontinent he began to perswade it, with a great deal more zeal and successe then before he had opposed it (*G*): His convert Master *Goodwin*, a most fine and dainty Spirit, with very little ado, was brought by his Letters from *New-England*, to follow him unto this step also of his progresse, and that with so high an estimation of his new Light, that he was bold to boast of it in termes a little beyond the lines of moderation (*H*).

Master Cotton  
often deceived,  
hath given  
his patrocinie  
to divers grosse  
Errours.  
Why God permits  
great men  
to fall in evident  
Errours.

It had been happy for *England*, that Master *Cotton* had taken longer time for deliberation, before that change of his minde: He might have remembred his too precipitant rashnesse in former times, both to receive, and to send abroad to the world such Tenents whereof after he had cause to repent.

God in wisdom permits his dearest children to set black marks on their own faces, not onely to keep themselves in humility and suspicion of their own hearts, but to divert others from idolizing their gifts, and setting up their persons as a patern for their too sudden imitation. I would not willingly detract from any mans reputation; I am oft ready enough, both to hear with contentment, and liberally to speak to the praises of men much inferiour in my thoughts to Master *Cotton*: Yet when his gifts are turned into snares, when they become occasions of stumbling, and, contrary to the minde of the giver, are made inducements to follow him in his wanderings; I am of opinion, that neither Piety nor Charity will hinder to remark his evident and known failings: That as his eminent endowments are strong invitations to run after him; so the mixture of cleer weaknesse may be a retractive to every prudent man, and a caveat from God, to beware of his wayes, as well as of any other mans.

I take it for a great mercy of God to simple ones, that the most, if not all, who have offred themselves to be Ringleaders in any Heresie or Schism, or other by-way, have ever bin permitted to fall into  
some

some evident folly; to the end, that they whose simplicity made them too prone to be misled by the strength of pregnant wits, and the luster of excellent gifts, which in the most of Sectaries to this day, have ever been apparent, might be held in the love of the truth, and made cautious of being led aside by them in whose footsteps a very blunt eye might perceive the print of an evil spirit.

Not to speak of Master Cottons long continuance in the Errors of his education, sundry whereof stuck to him as he confesseth all the time of his abode in England (I): Nor of his more dangerous fall into the gulf of Pelagianism, some of the Arminian Errours, from which the writings of Dr. Twisse are said to have reclaimed him (K); However, the Doctor doth say, that he hath no assurance of his recantation to this day, and therefore was willing that his Treatise against Master Cottons erroneous writings should be published to the world. To passe by also that which I have heard of some gracious Ministers of his old Montanism, wherein some think he remaineth to this day.

His Prelatical  
Arminian and  
Montanistick  
Tenents.

That which I point at, is, another more dangerous fall, which as already it hath much humbled his spirit, and opened his ear to instruction, and I trust it will not leave working till it have brought him yet neerer to his Brethren: So to the worlds end, it cannot but be a matter of fear and trembling, to all who shall know it, and of abundant caution to be very wary of receiving any singularity from his hand without due tryal. That which I speak of, is, his wandring into the horrible Errours of the Antinomians and Familists, with his dear friend Mistresse Hutchinson; so far, that he came to a resolution to side with her, and separate from all the Churches in New-England, as legal Synagogues.

His Antinomy  
and Familism.

The truth of this horrible fall, if ye will not take it from the parties themselves, the followers of Mistresse Hutchinson, who oftentimes were wont to brag of Master Cotton for their Master and Patron (L); nor from the Testimony of Master Williams (M), who had as much occasion to know it, as any man else; and if I mistake not the humor of the man, is very unwilling to report a lie of his greatest enemy. Yet we may not reject the witness of Master Wintthrop, the wisest of all the New-English Governours hitherto, and of Master Wells, a gracious Minister of that Land, in their Printed Relations of the Schisms there, both those, al. eit,

H

with



with all care and study they endeavour to save Master Cottons credit, yet let the truth of Master Cottons seduction fall from their Pens in so clear termes as cannot be avoided; for however, what they speak of the erring of the most eminent in place, might be applyed to the Governour for the time (N 1.) : Yet when they tell us, that the most of the Seducers lived in the Church of *Boston*, and that the whole Church of *Boston*, except a few, were infected with that Leprosie, and that none of them were ever called to an account by the Presbytery of that Church till after the Assembly, though the Pastor of that Church, Master *Wilson*, was alwayes exceedingly zealous against them; also that in face of the General Court, Mistresse *Hutchinson* did avow Master Cotton alone, and Master *Wheelwright*, to Preach the truth according to her minde; and that Master Cotton himself, before that same Court, did openly dissent, even after the Assembly, from all his Brethren about *Wheelwrights* Doctrine. These, and other the like informations, are so clear, that no art will get Master Cotton freed (N 2.)

I have been also informed by a gracious Preacher, who was present at the Synod of *New-England*; that all the Brethren there, being exceedingly scandalized with Master Cottons carriage, in Mistresse *Hutchinsons* processe, did so far discountenance, and so severely admonish him, that he was thereby brought to the greatest shame, confusion, and grief of minde that ever in all his life he had indured. But leaving the person of Master Cotton, if not the Author, yet the greatest promoter and patron of Independency, we will go on with the way it self.

Independency  
large, as un-  
happy as  
Brownism.

What Master Cotton, and the Apologists, his followers, have testified of Gods displeasure and judgements upon the way of the Brownists (O), is as evidently true of the way of the Independents; not onely because, as it will appear hereafter, both wayes really are one and the same: But also, because in the comparison of the events which have befallen to both wayes, it will be seen that the miscarriages and (because of them) the marks of Gods anger have been more manifest upon this latter way then upon the former.

Independency brought to the utmost pitch of perfection which the wit and industry of its best patrons were able to attain, having the advantage of the Brownists fatal miscarriages, to be exemplary

exemplary documents of wisdom, being also assisted and fenced with all the security that Civil Laws of its friends own framing, and gracious Magistrates at their absolute devotion, could afford; notwithstanding in a very few, lesse then one week of years, hath flown out in more shameful absurdities then the *Brownists* to this day, in all the fifty yeers of their trial, have stumbled upon.

The verity of this broad assertion shall be palpable to any who will be at the pains a little to consider their proceedings in any of the places wherever yet they had any settled abode: for however much of their way be yet in the dark, and in this also their advantage above the *Brownists* is great; that in their Discords none of themselves have proclaimed their own shame; none that have fallen from them, have of purpose put pen to paper, to inform the world of their ways; neither have any of them been willing to reply to any of the Books written against them, that did put a necessity upon them to speak out the truth of many heave imputations which with a loud voice by many a tongue are laid on them; chusing rather to lie under the hazard of all the reproach which their unfriendly reports could bring upon them, then to make an Apologie, wherein their denial might bring upon them the infamy of lying, or their grant the fastening, by their own testimony, upon the back of their party the Crimes alleadged against them: Notwithstanding so much is broken out from under all their coverings, as will make good what hath been said. Hitherto they have had but three places of abode, *New-England, Holland, London*. That any where else they have erected Congregations, I do not know. Of their adventures in these three places, we will speak a little.

In *New-England*, when Master *Cotton* had gotten the assistance of Master *Hooker*, Master *Davenport*, and sundry other very worthy Ministers, beside many thousands of people whom God in his mercy did send over to that new world, to be freed from suffering and danger, in the day of their Countreys most grievous calamities; being there alone, without the disturbance of any enemy either within or without, What were the fruits of their Church-way?

First, it forced them to hold out of all Churches and Christian Congregations, many thousands of people who in former times had been reputed in *Old-England* very good Christians. I

Wherefore so much of the Independent way lies yet in darkness.

The fruits of Independency in *New England*

1. It put thousands of Christians in the condition of Pagans.

have heard sundry esteem the number of the *English* in that Plantation to exceed Fourty thousand men and women: when Master *Cotton* is put to it, he dares hardly avow the one half of these to be members of any Church (*P*): But if we do beleieve others who were eye-witnesses also, they do avow, That of all who are there, Three parts of Four will not be in any Church (*Q1.*). To us it seemeth a grievous absurdity, a great dishonour to God, and cruelty against men, to spoil so many thousand Christians, whom they dare not deny to be truly religious, of all the priviledges of the Church, of all the benefits of Discipline, of all the comfort of any Sacrament, either to themselves, or to their children; to put them in the condition of Pagans, such as some of them professe all Protestants to be who are not of their way (*Q2.*).

2. It mairs the conversion of Pagans to the Christian Religion.

A second evil of their Way, is, That it hath exceedingly hindered the conversion of the poor Pagans; God in great mercy having opened a door in these last times to a new world of reasonable creatures for that end, above all, that the Gospel might be preached to them, for the enlargement of the Kingdom of Christ. The principles and practice of *Independents*, doth crosse this blessed hope. What have they to do with those that are without? Their Pastors preach not for conversion, their relation is to their Flock, who are Church-members, converted already to their hand by the labours of other men, before they can be admitted into their Church.

Of all that ever crossed the *American* Seas, they are noted as most neglectful of the work of Conversion. I have read of none of them that seem to have minded this matter (*Q3.*): onely Master *Williams* in the time of his banishment from among them, did assay what could be done with those desolate souls, and by a little experience quickly did finde a wonderful great facility to gain thousands of them to so much and more Christianity, both in profession and practice, then in the most of our people doth appear (*R*). But the unhappinesse of these principles whereof we speak, did keep him, as he professeth, from making use of that great opportunity and large door which the Lord there hath opened to all who will be zealous for propagating of the Gospel (*S*).

3. It did bring forth the foulest Heresies that ever yet were heard of in any Protestant Church.

Thirdly, the fruits of *Independency* may be seen in the profession and practices of the most who have been admitted, as very fit,



fit, if not the fittest members of their Churches. These have much exceeded any of the *Brownists* that yet we have heard of; first, in the vileness of their Errours; secondly, in the multitude of the erring persons; thirdly, in the hypocrisie joyned with their errours; fourthly, in malice against their neighbours, and contempt of their Superiours, Magistrates and Ministers for their opposition to them in their evil ways; and lastly, in their singular obstinacie, stiffly sticking unto their errours, in defiance of all that any upon earth could do for their reclaiming, or that God from heaven, almost miraculously, had declared against them. All this I will make good, by the unquestionable Testimonies of their loving friends.

For the vileness of their Errours: They did avow openly the personal inhabitation of the Spirit in all the godly, his immediate revelations without the Word; and these as infallible as Scripture it self (*T*): This is the vilest *Montanism*. They avowed further, with the grossest *Antinomians*, That no sin must trouble any childe of God: That all trouble of conscience for any sin, demonstrates a man subject to the Covenant of Works, but a stranger to the Covenant of Grace (*V*): That no Christian is bound to look upon the Law as a rule of his conversation (*X*): That no Christian should be prest to any duty of holiness (*Y*). Neither here did they stand, but went on to aver the death of the soul with the body (*Z*): That all the Saints upon earth have two bodies (*AA*): That Christ is not united to our fleshly body; but they would have him to be united to our new body (*BB*), with the same union wherewith his humanity is united with his Godhead: That Christs Manhood was not now in the heavens (*CC*), but that his body was his Church. These abominable errours, and many more of this kinde, to the number of Fourscore and eleven (*DD*), the *New-English* Independency did produce to the world in a very short time.

For the second, The number of the erring persons; this is said to have been incredible; not onely multitudes of men and women every where were infected (*EE*), but almost no Society, no Family of that Land was free of that Pest (*BB*): *Boston*, the best and most famous of their Churches, was so far corrupted, that few there were untainted (*GG*).

Concerning the Hypocrisie of these Hereticks, it was exceeding

A few examples of the many abominable Heresies of the *New-English* Independents.

The greatest part of the chief Churches were infected with these errours. The piety of these Hereticks seemed to be singular.

ceeding great : None appeared so humble, so holy, so spiritual, and full of Christ, as they (*HH*) : In their speech, nought but self-denial (*II*) : In their prayers, ravishing affections, and heavenly expressions (*KK*) : All their singular opinions, were for the advancing of Free-grace (*LL*) ; For the glorious light of the Gospel ; for the setting up of naked Christ on his Throne (*MM*).

Their malice against all who opposed them, was singular, especially against all their Orthodox Ministers,

Their malice towards all that dissented from them, was so extreme, that they made the life of many, the most religious of their Neighbours, to be bitter and a wearisome burden to them (*NN*).

For their Ministers, some of them they adored : Master Cotton and Master Wheelwright, they set up as the onely true Preachers of the Covenant of Grace ; they extolled them to the skies, avowing, that since the Apostles dayes, none had received so much Gospel-Light, as they (*OO*) : But the rest of the Preachers, not onely all in Old England (*PP*), but also all in New-England, except a very few, and most of all the best, the most zealous and Orthodox, even the instruments of their own conversion, were to them *Baals* Priests, Legal Preachers, Popish Factors, Scribes and Pharisees, Enemies to the Gospel, voide of the Spirit of Grace (*QQ*).

and Magistrates.

Their contempt of the Magistrates was as great as of the Ministers : Their late Governour they professed was a true friend to Christ, and Free-grace (*RR*) ; but Master Winthrop their present Governour, and the most of the Magistrates, they proclaimed enemies of Grace, Persecutors, Antichrists, *Ahabs*, *Herods*, *Pilates*, whom God would destroy (*SS*). Their Preacher, Master Wheelwright, would exhort the people in his Sermon, to deal with the Magistrates as such, remembering them how *Moses* had killed the *Egyptian* (*TT*).

Their Errours in opinion did draw on such seditious practices, as did well neer overturn both their Church and State.

Their Heresies did bring on so dangerous seditions, as in a short time did put their Common-wealth in a clear hazard of utter ruine (*VV*) ; for the Heretikes had drawn to their side, not onely multitudes of the people, but many of the ablest men for parts, in all Trades, especially the Souldiers (*XX*). They kept such intimate familiarity, and open correspondence with the most eminent men of the Land ; Mistresse Huchinson, and the late Governour, kept almost every day so private and long discourse with Master Cotton, that made them conclude all was their own (*YY*), and

and forced the wise Governour, Master *Winthrop*, to prevent their designs, to put the former Governour, and all that followed him, from their places in the general Court, and to desire him and them to be gone, which was counted a real, though a civil banishment out of their Land (Z Z): Also to disarm the most of that faction expressly upon fear, lest the Tragedy of *Munster* should be acted over again in *New-England* (A A A).

Master *Williams* told me, that he was imployed to buy from the Savages, for the late Governour, and Master *Cotton*, with their followers, a proportion of Land without the *English* Plantation, whither they might retire and live according to their own minde, exempt from the Jurisdiction, Civil, and Ecclesiastick, of all others. Master *Williams* was in so great friendship with that late Governour, when he told me so much, That I beleeve he would have been loth to have spoken any untruth of him.

Their obstinacy in all these things was truly marvellous; for after all the pains which their godly Pastors took upon them, in Preaching, in Conference, in Publike Disputations: After the Magistrate had executed the Law, and inflicted civil punishments upon some of their prime Seducers; yea, when God visibly from the Heavens had declared his anger against some of their cheif Leaders, punishing Mistrresse *Hutchinson* with a monstrous birth of more then thirty mis-shapen Creatures at one time (B B B), and Mistrresse *Dyer* her principal assistant, with another monstrous birth (C C C) of one Creature, mixed of a Beast, of a Fish, and a Foul: Notwithstanding all these admonitions, their obstinacy was so great, that many of them continued pertinacious without any repentance (D D D).

Their proud  
obstinacy a-  
gainst all ad-  
monitions was  
marvellous.

For some of them separating of their own accord, others being banished by the Magistrate, retired into those Lands which Master *Williams* had bought for them; and in that their new Habitation, they continued not long; till beside all the named Errours, they fell into many more, both Errours and Schisms (E E E).

And Mistrresse *Hutchinson* did make a new Separation, retiring to a new dwelling (F F F); where after her long contempt of divine and humane patience, at last God did let loose his hand, and destroyed her, sending in upon her a company of the Savages, who burnt her self, her house, and all that she had (G G G). Notwithstanding



withstanding all that God and man at that time and since hath done to discover the evil spirit that raged in that way, yet such is the stoutnesse of many, especially of the late Governour, whose hand in all that businesse was cheif, that to this day if you will confer with them, they will assure, That Mistrresse *Hutchinson* was much mistaken and wronged; that she was a most pious woman, and that her Tenents if well understood, were all true, at least very tolerable. We have oft marvelled, that the Eldership of *Boston* did never so much as call her before them to be rebuked for any of her Errours; though their general Assembly had confuted and condemned them, yet still she was permitted to go on, till the zeal of the new Governour, and the general Court did condemn her to perpetual banishment; then, and not till then, so far as we can perceive by the story, did the Church of *Boston* begin a processe against her; and when the processe was brought to an end, Master *Cotton* by no means would put it in execution; that burden was laid on the back of Master *Wilson* his Colleague, how ever not the fittest instrument, being the person to whom Mistrresse *Hutchinson* from the beginning had professed her greatest opposition; and when the sentence was pronounced against her, they tell us, That the great cause of it was none of her Heresies or Errours, but her other practises especially, her grosse lying (*HHH*).

In the midst of their profession of eminent piety, the profanity of many of them was great.

The prophanenesse also of these persons is considerable, their profession of piety being so fair, that they avow their standing aloof from all the Reformed Churches as unclean, because of their mixture with the prophane multitude. Beside all that is said of their Heresies, Schisms, Contentions, Contempt of Magistrates and Ministers, all which are the prophane works of the flesh: We read of further pollution, breaking out among them, as both Master *Cotton*, and Master *Wells* do testifie (*III*).

Out of the Governour, Master *Winthrop's* Narration, I remark one abomination, which to me seems strange, That the Midwives, to their most zealous women, should not onely have familiarity with the divel; but also in that very service, should commit divellish Malefices, which, so far as they tell us, were not onely past over without punishment, but never so much as inquired after (*KKK*).

All this and more, we read of the Independents in *New-England*, in one short Narration of two or three yeers accidents among

among them ; what if we had their full History from any faithful hand ? it seems that many more mysteries would be brought to light, which now are hid in darknesse.

It is not our intention to bring any man to a prejudice, or the least distast of the Grace and Gifts which God hath bestowed on Master Cotton or any other in *New-England* would to God, that all our Questions with them, were come to that issue ; they should finde us here as willing as their greatest admirers, to prize, to embrace, and as our weaknesse will permit, to imitate what ever good did shine in any of them : But we have made these Observations from what themselves have written, to bring if it be possible, their own hearts ; or if this be desperate, yet the mindes of others, to a suspition of that their new and singular way, which the Lord hath so manifestly cursed with bader fruits, and greater store of them then ever yet did appear upon the Tree of Brownism, which they do so much disgrace as an unlucky Plant : notwithstanding, all the Gifts and Graces wherewith *Ainsworth*, *Robinson*, and some others of its Branches, have been adorned by God in as rich a measure as have been seen in any, who to this day have ingrafted themselves into their new and bitter root of Independency.

Notwithstanding all this, we desire from our heart, to honour and imitate all and every degree of Truth or Piety, which did ever appear in any *New-Englisch* Christian.

### The Testimonies.

(A) Master Cottons Letter to Skelton, p. 3. *Your other Errour that our Congregations in England, are none of them particular Reformed Churches, requireth rather a Book then a Letter to answer it. You went hence of another judgement, and I am afraid, your change hath sprung from New-Plymouth men, whom though I much esteeme as godly loving Christians ; yet their Grounds, which for this Tenent they received from Master Robinson, do not satisfie me, though the man I reverence as godly and learned.*

Rathbones Narration, p. 1. *The Church at New-Plymouth was as I am informed, one of the first Churches that was settled in New-England, having been a part of Master Robinsons Church in Holland, that famous Brownist, from whence they brought with their Church Opinions and Practises ; and which they there still hold*

hold without any alteration, so far as ever I could learn. Master W. an eminent man of the Church at Plimouth, told W. R. that the rest of the Churches of New-England came at first to them at Plimouth, to crave their direction in Church courses, and made them their patern.

(B) *Vide Purchase* Pilgrims in his discourses of *America*, in divers Letters from *New-England*.

(C) *Cottons* Letter to the Reader before *Hildersham's* Commentary upon *John*, 1632. That one Letter of his to a Gentlewoman against the Separation, which without his consent a Separatist Printed, and Refuted, hath so strongly and cleerly convinced the Iniquity of that way, that I could not but acknowledge in it, both the wisdom of God, and the weaknesse of the Separatists: His wisdom in bringing to light such a beam of his Truth by the hand of an adversary, against the minde of the Author; and the weaknesse of the other, to advance the hand of this Adversary, to give himself and his cause such a deadly wound in open view, as neither himself nor all his associates can be able to heal; in which respect, I conceive it was that the industrious Doctor *Willet* stileth this our Author, *Schismaticorum qui vulgo Brownista vocantur Malleus*: The Hammer of Schismaticks whom they commonly call Brownists.

(D) *Vide supra*. A.

(E) *Edwards Antapology*, p.17. Knowing something of the story of Master *Goodwins* first coming to fall off from the Ceremonies, having seen and perused the Arguments that past betwixt him and Master *Cotton*, and some others: Master *Goodwin* assured me some moneths after his going off, that he had nothing to say, but against the Ceremonies the Liturgy offended him not, much lesse dreamed he of this Church-way he since fell into.

(F) *Cottons Letter from New-England to his friends at Boston*, October 5. 1635. Some other things there be, which were I again with you, I durst not take that liberty which some times I have taken: I durst not joyn in your Book-Prayers.

(G) *Ibidem*. I durst not now partake in the Sacraments with you, though the Ceremonies were removed. I know not how you can be excused from Fellowship of their sins, if you continue in your place. While you and some of my other friends continue with them, I fear the rest will settle upon their Lees with more security. The wise-hearted that



that left their Stations in Israel, I doubt not, were some of them, if not all, useful and serviceable men in their places; yet they did themselves and their Brethren more good service in going before their Brethren, as the Goats before the Flocks, Jerē. 50. 8. then if they had tarried with them to the corrupting of their own wayes. 2 Chro. 11. 14, 16.

Antap. p. 32. After his going into New-England, and falling into the Church-Way there, and sending over Letters into England about the new Way, presently after these Letters began the falling off and questioning Communion in our Churches.

(H) Antap. p. 32. One of you, to wit, Master Goodwin was so engaged in his thoughts of one of the Ministers of New-England, to wit, Master Cotton, by whom I am sure, he was first taken off, that he hath said, there was not such another man in the World again.

Ibidem, p. 22. One of you told some friends, that he had found out a Form of Church-Government, as far beyond Master Cartwrights, as his was beyond that of the Bishops.

Master Williams Examination of Master Cottons Letter, p. 47. Some of the most eminent amongst them have affirmed, that even the Apostles Churches were not so pure, as the new English Churches.

(I) Vide supra. F.

(K) Antap. p. 40. He hath had his Errours, and I refer you for proof to his discourse about clearing the Doctrine of Reprobation. See the Preface of Doctor Twisse his Answer.

(L) The short Story in the Preface, par. 10. What men they saw Eminent in the Countrey, and of most esteem in the hearts of the people, they would be sure still to father their opinions upon them, and say, I hold nothing but what I had from such and such a man.

Ibid. p. 65. She pretended she was of Master Cottons judgement in all things.

(M) Williams Examination, p. 12. Some few yeers since he was upon the point to separate from the Churches there, as legal.

Ibidem, p. 33. How could I possibly be ignorant as he seems to charge me, of their estate, when being from first to last in Fellowship with them, an Officer amongst them, had private and publike agitations concerning their estate with all or most of their Ministers.

(N) Short story, Preface, p. 7. By this time they had to patronise them, some of the Magistrates, and some men eminent for Religion, Parts, and Wit.

Ibidem, p. 25. Master Wheelwright had taught them, that the former Governour and some of the Magistrates then were friends of Christ and Free-grace, but the present were enemies. The former Governour never stirred out but attended by the Serjeants with Halberds or Carrabines, but the present Governour was neglected.

Ibid. p. 35. After that she had drawn some of eminent place, and parts, to her party, whereof some profited so well as in a few moneths they out-went their Teacher.

Ibidem, p. 33. Upon the countenance which it took from some eminent persons, her opinions began to hold up their heads in the Court of Justice.

(N.2.) Ibidem, p. 32. It was a wonder, upon what a sudden the whole Church of Boston, some few excepted were become her new converts, and infected with her opinions.

Ibid. Preface, p. 7. In the Church of Boston most of these Seducers lived.

Ibid. p. 36. The Court laid to her charge, the reproach she had cast upon the Ministry in this Countrey, saying That none of them did preach the Covenant of Free-grace but Master Cotton. She told them that there was a wide difference between Master Cottons Ministry and theirs; and that they could not hold forth a Covenant of Free-grace, because they had not the Seal of the Spirit.

Ibidem. p. 50. All the Ministers consented to this, except thir Brother the Teacher of Boston. Ibid. p. 52. Master Wheelwright being present, spoke nothing, though he well discerned that the judgement of the most of the Magistrates, and near all the Ministers closed with the affirmative. Ibidem, p. 21. Albeit, the Assembly of the Churches had confuted and condemned most of these new opinions, and Master Cotton had in publike view consented with the rest; yet the Leaders in these Erroneous wayes, stood still to maintain their new Light; Master Wheelwright also continued his preaching after his former manner; and Mistresse Hutchinson her wonted meetings and exercises; and much offence was still given by her, and others, in going out of the ordinary Assemblies. When (Mr. Wilson) the Pastor of Boston began any exercise, it was conceived by the Magistrate that the case was now desperate, and it was determined to suppress them by Civil Authority.

(O) Apologetical Narration, p. 9. We had likewise the fatal miscarriages and shipwracks of the Separation, whom you call Brownists,

Brownists, as Land-marks to forewarn us of these Rocks and Shelves they run upon.

Cottons Letter to Williams, pag. 12. I said that God had not prospered the way of Separation, because he hath not blessed it either with peace among themselves or with growth of grace. The Lord Jesus never delivered that Way of Separation to which they bear Witness, nor any of his Apostles after him, nor of his Prophets before him. We do not come forth to help them against Jehovah; this were not to help Jehovah, but Satan against him. We cannot pray in Faith for a blessing upon their Separation, which we see not to be of God, nor to lead to him: It is little comfort to the true Servants of Christ that such inventions of men are multiplied.

(P) Answer to the thirty two Questions, p. 7. Whether is the greater number, these that are admitted to Church-Communion, or these that are not, we cannot certainly tell.

(Q1.) Plain dealing, p. 73. Here such confessions and professions are required, both in private and publick, both by men and women, before they be admitted, that three parts of the people of the Countrey remain out of the Church, so that in short time, most of the people will remain unbaptised.

(Q2.) Williams of the name Heathen, p. 6. Nations protesting against the Beast, no Papists, but Protestants, may we say of them that they or any of them may be called in true Scripture sence, Heathens, that is, the Nations or Gentiles, in opposition to the people of God, which is the only Holy Nation? Such a departure from the Beast in a false constitution of National Churches, if the bodies of Protestant Nations remain in an unregenerate estate, Christ hath said they are but as Heathens and Publicans.

(Q3.) Plain dealing, p. 21. There hath not been any sent forth by any Church, to learn the Natives language, or to instruct them in our Religion first, because they say they have not to do with them being without, except they come to hear, and learn English.

(R) Williams of the name Heathen, p. 10. For our New-England parts, I can speak it confidently, I know it to have been easie for myself, long ere this, to have brought many thousands of these Natives, yea, the whole Countrey to a far greater Antichristian conversion, then ever was heard of in America. I could have brought the whole Countrey to have observed one day in seven: I adde, to have received Baptism, to have come to a stated Church meeting, to have



*maintained Priests, and Forms of Prayer, and a whole form of Antichristian Worship in life and death.*

(S) Ibid. p.11. *Woe to me, if I call that conversion to God, which is indeed the subversion of the souls of millions in Christendom, from one false Worship to another.*

Williams Key unto the language of America, p. 9. *To which I could easily have brought the Countrey, but that I was perswaded, and am, that Gods Way is first to turn a soul from its idols, both of heart, Worship, and conversation, before it is capable of worship to the true God.*

(T) Short story, p.32. *Many good souls were brought to waite for this immediate revelation; then sprung up also that opinion of the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost.*

Ibidem, Preface, p. 13. *That their own revelations of particular events, were as infallible as the Scripture.*

(V) Short story, Preface, pag. 2. *Sin in a childe of God must never trouble him. Trouble in conscience for sins of Commission, or for neglect of duties, sheweth a man to be under a Covenant of Works.*

(X) Short story Preface, p.2. *A Christian is not bound to the Law as the rule of his conversation.*

(Y) Ibid. p.3. *No Christian must be pressed to duties of Holiness.*

(Z) Short story Preface, p. 13. *Their Leaders fell into more hideous delusions, as that the souls of men are mortal like the Beasts.*

(A A) Short story, p.59. *These who are united to Christ, have in this life new bodies, and two bodies.*

(B B) Ibid. *She knoweth not how Jesus Christ should be united to this our fleshly body; these who have union with Christ, shall not rise with the same fleshly body; and that the Resurrection mentioned in 1 Cor. 15. 44. is not meant of the Resurrection of the body, but of our union here in this life.*

(C C) Ibid. p.60. *We are united to Christ with the same union that his humanity on earth was with his Deity. That she had no Scripture to warrant that Christs manhood is now in Heaven; but the body of Christ is his Church.*

(D D) Ibid. Preface, p.1. *You shall see a Litter of ninety one of their brats hung up against the Sun, besides many new ones of Missresse Hutchinsons.*

(E E)

(E E) Ibid. *Multitudes of men and women were infected before they were aware.*

(F F) Ibid. Preface, p.7. *They had some of all sorts and qualities in all places, to defend and patronise them: Almost in every family, some were ready to defend them as the Apple of their own eye.*

(G G) Vide supra. N 2.

(H H) Short story Preface, pag. 4. *They would appear very humble, holy, and spiritual Christians, and full of Christ.*

(I I) Ibid. *They would deny themselves far, and speak excellently.*

(K K) Ibid. *They would pray with such soul ravishing affections and expressions, that a stranger could not but love and admire them.*

(L L) Ibid. *They lifted up their opinions by gilding them over with the specious termes of Free-grace, Glorious-Light, Gospel-Truths, holding out naked Christ.*

(M M) Vide supra. L L.

(N N) Preface, p. 7. *O their boldnesse, pride, insolency, the disturbances, divisions, contentions they raised among us, both in Church and State, and Families, setting division betwixt Husband and Wife!*

Ibid. p.9. *And seeing a spirit of pride, subtilty, malice and contempt of all men that were not of their minde breathing in them, our hearts were sadded, and our spirits tyred.*

(O O) Ibid. p.4. *Their followers in admiration of them, would tell others, that since the Apostles times, they were perswaded none ever received so much light from God, as such and such had done, naming their Leaders. See also before H.*

(P P) Short story, pag. 39. *She said it was revealed to her long since in England, That all the pack of the Ministers there were Antichristian, so that she durst hear none of them, after Master Cotton and Master Wheelwright were once gone; for they could not preach Christ, and the new Covenant.*

(Q Q) Preface, pag. 8. *The faithful Ministers of Christ must have dung cast in their faces, and be no better then legal Preachers, Baals Priests, Popish Factors, Scribes, Pharisees, and Opposers of Christ himself.*

(R R) Vide supra. N 1.

(S S) Preface, p.9. *The Magistrates were Achabs, Amazias, enemies to Christ, led by Satan.*

(T T)

(T T) Ibid. *These were enemies to Christ; Herods, Pilates, Scribes and Pharisees, yea, Antichrists; and advised all under a Covenant of Grace, to look upon them as such: And with great zeal did stimulate them to deal with them as such, and alleadged the story of Moses that killed the Egyptian, and left is barely so.*

(V V) Ibid. *It was a wonder of mercy, that they had not set our Common-wealth and Churches on a fire, and consumed us all therein.*

(X X) Preface, pag. 7. *They had some of all quality to defend them, some of the Magistrates, some Gentlemen, some Schollers, some of our Captains and Souldiers, some in Military Trainings.*

(Y Y) Short story, p. 33. *They made full accompt the day had been theirs.*

(Z Z) Master Williams in his Discourse to me, assured me hereof.

(A A A) Short story, p. 43. *Under their conduct, the old Serpent had prepared such an Ambushment, as in all reason would soon have driven Christ and the Gospel out of New-England, (though to the ruine of the instruments themselves, as well as of others) and to the repossessing of Satan in his ancient Kingdom.*

(B B B) Preface, p. 12. *Mistresse Hutchinson being big with childe, and growing towards the time of ber Labour, brought out not one, but thirty monstrous births or thereabouts at once, none at all of them of humane shape.*

(C C C) Ibid. *Mistresse Dyer brought forth her birth of a Woman childe, a Beast, a Fish, and a Foul, all woven together in one, and without an head.*

(D D D) Ibid. *Though he that runs may read their sin in these judgements, yet, behold the desperate hardnesse of heart in these persons, and all their followers; they turned all from themselves upon the faithfull servants of God that laboured to reclaim them, saying, This is for you ye Legalists, that your eyes might be further blinded by Gods hand upon us in your legal wayes, that you may stumble and fall, and in the end break your necks in Hell, if ye imbrace not the Truth.*

(E E E) Ibid. p. 5. *These persons with many others infected by them, went altogether out of our Jurisdiction into an Iland, and there they live to this day most of them, hatching and multiplying new opinions, and cannot agree, but are miserably divided into sundry Sects and Factions.*

(F F F)



(FFF) *Mistresse Hutchinson being weary of the Iland, went from thence with all her family, to live under the Dutch, neer a place in the Map called Hell-gate.*

(GGG) *There the Indians set upon them, and slew her and all her family; her daughter, and her daughters husband; and all their children, save one that escaped. Some write that the Indians did burn her to death, withall that belonged to her. I never heard that the Indians in these parts did commit the like outrage upon any other.*

(HHH) Vide KKK 1.

(III) Ibid. p. 13. *They grew also many of them very loose in their practises; for these opinions will certainly produce a filthy life by degrees: As no Prayer in their Families, no Sabbath, insufferable pride, frequent and hideous lying; and some of them became guilty of fouler sins then all these, which I here name not.*

Cottons third Sermon, 6. Vial, pag. 9. *The calamities of the Countrey are from God; he takes away all; whether by our pride, that we must have every new fashion, and be like the men of the world, in houses, apparel, and the like; or daintinesse, that we must have our varieties, though it cost never so much, and no matter what followeth, though it eat up our estates. The Lord hath made use of our folly, and pride, and daintinesse, our idlenesse, and covetousnesse.*

Idem. 2. Vial, pag. 26. *We know that in England there is no such unfaithful dealing, and hollow heartednesse? no such bitterness between Christians. What will befall your posterity, they will degenerate out of measure, by the unfaithfulness of your lives, and the unrighteousnesse of your promises.*

(KKK 1.) Short story, p. 44. *The Midwife, one Hawkins, was notorious for familiarity with the diabol, and now a prime Familist: The most of the Women who were present at Mistresse Dyers travel, were suddenly taken with such a violent vomiting, and purging, without eating or drinking of any thing, as they were forced to go home; others had their children taken with Convulsions, which they had not before, nor since, and so were sent for home: So that none were left at the birth, but the Midwife and two other; whereof one fell asleep at such time as the childe died, which was about two hours before the birth: The Bed wherein the mother lay, shook so violently, that all who were in the Room perceived it.*

(KKK 2.) Ibid. p. 63, 64. *Then Master Cotton told the Assembly, That whereas she had been formerly dealt with for matter of*

K

Doctrine,

*Doctrine, he had according to the duty of his place, being the Teacher of the Church, proceeded against her unto admonition: But now the case being altered, and she being questioned for maintaining of untruth, which is matter of Manners, he must leave the businesse to the Pastor Master Wilson to go on with her; but withal declared his judgement in the case from that in the Revelation, ch. 22. That such as make and maintain a lie, ought to be cast out of the Church; and whereas two or three pleaded that she might first have a second Admonition, according to that in Titus 3. 10. He answered, That that was onely for such as erred in point of Doctrine; but such as shall notoriously offend in matter of conversation, ought to be presently cast out, as he proved by Ananias and Saphira, and the incestuous Corinthian.*

*Ibid. p. 65. It was observed that she should now come under Admonition for many foul and fundamental Errors, and after be cast out for notorious lying.*

## CHAP. IV.

*The Carriage of the Independents in Holland, at Rotterdam, and Arnhem.*

**T**He fruits of this way in *Holland*, are not much sweeter then these we have tasted in *New-England*. All the time of their abode there, they were not able to conquer to their party more then two Congregations; and these but very small ones, of the English onely: For to this day, I have not heard of any one man of the Dutch, French, Scottish, or any other Reformed Church, who have become a Member of any Independent Congregation.

Independency  
no fruitful  
Tree in Hol-  
land.

Their first Church in *Holland* was that of *Rotterdam*, which Master *Peters* (A) (not the most settled head in the World) did draw from its ancient Presbyterial Constitution, to that new frame which it seemeth he also learned by Master *Cottons* Letters from *New-England*.

Master *Peters*  
the first Plant-  
er of that  
Weed at *Roter-  
dam*.

This Church became no sooner Independent, then it run into the way of such shameful Divisions as their Mother at *Amsterdam* had gone before them. Their Pastor Master *Peters*, was soon weary of them, or they of him; for what causes themselves best know; but sure it is, he quickly left them, and went for *New-England*.

The Church was not long destitute of Pastors; for about that time Master *Ward* and Master *Bridge* came over to them from *Normich*, where they ever had lived fully conform, without any contradiction either to Episcopacy or Ceremonies, onely they withstood Bishop *Wrens* last Innovations (B).

Their Mini-  
sters, Master  
*Bridge*, Master  
*Simpson* and  
Master *Ward*,  
renounced  
their English  
Ordination,  
and as meer  
private men  
took new Or-  
dination from  
the people.

So soon as they came to *Rotterdam*, without any long time of advertisement, they conformed themselves to the Discipline which Master *Peters* had planted (C); They renounced their English Ordination and Ministerial Office, joyning themselves as meer private men to that Congregation, which afterward did choose and ordain both of them to be their Ministers (D).

It was not long before Master *Simpson* also came hither from *London*, and renouncing also his Ordination (E); joyned himself as a private member with them.



Incontinent  
they did fall  
into shameful  
divisions and  
subdivisions.

Then did the Spirit of Division begin to work among them, and so far to prevail, that Master *Simpson* malecontent with Master *Bridge*, for hindering the private members of the flock to prophesie after the Brownists way, did separate himself and erect a new Congregation of his own (F): Betwixt these two Churches, the contentions and slanders became no lesse grievous then those of *Amsterdam* betwixt *Ainsworth* and *Johnsons* followers; and in this much worse, that they of *Rotterdam* abode not at one Schism; but after Master *Simpsons* separation, broke out again into another subdivision.

Master *Bridges* Congregation was so filled with strife, so shameful slanders were laid upon his own back, that displeasure did hasten the death of his wife (G), and did well neer kill himself, making him oft professe his repentance that ever he entred into that society (H).

The people  
without any  
just cause de-  
posed their  
Minister.

As for Master *Ward*, his Ministry became so unfavoury to that people, that they did never rest till judicially by their own Authority alone (for Presbytery they had none, and Master *Bridge* did dissent from that act of unjust oppression) they had deposed Master *Ward* from his pastoral charge (I).

The Commis-  
sioners from  
*Arnhem* durst  
not come neer  
the bottom of  
the businesse.

This act was much stumbled at by divers who were fully perswaded of Master *Wards* integrity, and at last by the intercession of some from the Church of *Arnhem* he was restored to his place; but the ground of the controversie was no wayes touched: For when the four Commissioners from *Arnhem*, Master *Goodwin*, Master *Nye*, Master *Laurence*, and another, had met in a Chamber of a private house in *Rotterdam*, with some Members of that faulty Congregation (K), and so made up their famous Assembly, which the Apologists are pleased to equal, if not to prefer to all the Assemblies they ever had seen (L): Whether that National Synod, wherein Master *Nye* had seen the flowre of the Scottish Nation enter into the Covenant with very great devotion: Or this great Assembly at *Westminster*, where he and his Brethren oft have seen sitting the Prince *Elect*, the most Noble Members of both Houses of Parliament, the prime Divines of all *England*, the Commissioners of the Church of *Scotland*.

That Assembly, I say of *Rotterdam*, did not so much as touch the main question; they drew a thin skin over the wound, but durst not assay to lance it to the bottom. For did they ever rebuke,

or

or so much as once speak to the people of that Congregation, for usurping a Tyrannicall Authority to depose their Pastor. Did they tell Master *Ward* of his siding with Master *Simpson*, against Master *Bridge*, in the matter of Prophecie? did they ever attempt to cognosce on the great scandal, the ground of all the rest, Master *Simpsons* Separation? did they make any hearty and solid reconciliation betwixt Master *Ward* and the Church? It seems the Assembly was wiser then to meddle with evils, which they found much above their strength to remedy. Master *Ward* found himself after his restitution in so pittiful a condition with his new friends, that he left their Company (*M*).

The two Churches were irreconcilable, till both Master *Bridge*, and Mr. *Simpson* had removed their Stations to *England*; and even then the concord could not be obtained, till the Dutch Magistrate had interposed his authority (*N*): Neither by this means could Master *Simpsons* Church be perswaded to return to Master *Bridges*, till for their meer pleasure they got that Congregation to remove one of their prime members, without the alleadging of any cause but their own peremptory will and satisfaction (*O*). When by so much a do these two divided Churches are brought together, it may be much doubted, if their Union shall long continue. Certainly, it seems not to be so cordial, as that of the two lately divided, and now reunited Churches at *Amsterdam*. For among these of *Rotterdam*, not onely the grounds of the old division do evidently remain, but also the Seeds of a new breach do appear above the ground.

The Schisms  
at Rotterdam  
were more ir-  
reconcilable  
then those at  
*Amsterdam*.

The liberty of Prophecyng, which Master *Simpsons* (now Master *Simons*) Congregation did require, is not obtained in the way they desired it; for they are not permitted to Prophecy in the Congregation, nor upon the Sabbath day, nor in the place of publike meeting: Onely in a private place, on a week day, where some of the Church who please do meet; they have liberty to exercise their gifts. On the other part, what Master *Bridges* (now Mr. *Parks*) Church did require, I mean a Presbytery for Government in the Congregation, cannot be obtained. For however, they professe the lawfulnessse and conveniency of Ruling Elders, and of a Consistory for Discipline; yet it hath so falln out that for many yeers they have had none, neither are like in haste to have, unlesse the grumbling of Master *Parks* and his friends.

threatning a new breach, do force them at last to the use of that Ordinance.

Anabaptism is  
like to spoil  
that Church.

But that which threatneth not a Schisme alone, but a total dissolution of that Congregation, is the Pest of Anabaptism, which begins of late much to infect them (*P*). It is true, the Pastors do their best to reclaim all their members from that Error; and when they finde themselves not able to prevail, give good words and assurances of a full and Brotherly Toleration; for as they scruple not to give the hand of Fellowship to the Brownists of *Amsterdam* (*Q*); so will they not cast out any from their Church for denying of Pedobaptism, if the dissenting and erring party be pleased to remain peaceably amongst them: But here is the pitty, when the Independents have declared their greatest readinesse to tolerate and entertain in their Churches, both the rigid Separatists, and the Anabaptists (*R*); yet the most of those are unwilling to stay, but are peremptory to separate from the Independent Churches as more corrupt then that they with a good conscience can abide in them, though never so much tolerated and cherished.

As for their Church at *Arnhem*, howsoever their small intercourse with others, during their abode in that remote corner, and their taciturnity of their own affairs, makes their proceedings to lie under a Cover; yet so much of their wayes is come to light upon divers occasions, as will not be very inductive and alluring of indifferent spirits, to tread in their footsteps.

They admire  
and praise  
themselves  
above all measure.

First, We finde them greater admirers of themselves and proclaimers of their own excellency then is the custome of modest and wise, though the best and greatest men. They think it not enough to anoint their Masters and Friends of *New-England* with excessive praises, as men who have not been matched by any of the Saints since the dayes of *Abraham* (*S*); but they are also bold to sound out to themselves in Print in the ears of both Houses of Parliament, a commendation much above the possible merit of any so small a number of men in the whole world. The Synod of *Rotterdam* they equal to the most solemn National Assemblies of either or both Kingdoms (*T*). This exceeding great worth upon whose head must it fall, but either alone or far most principally upon the Members of the Church of *Arnhem*? For that Synod did consist of no other but the two  
Doctors



Doctors of that Church, and the two Elders thereof, together with Master *Bridge*, and the Members of his Church. These last were present in that Synod as persons challenged, and guilty of a grievous scandal; so to them in that action, but a small praise can be due: Wherefore, the supereminent Excellency of that meeting, must fall upon the Commissioners of *Arnhem*, the onely persons which in that meeting were void of offence, and free from challenges. To themselves therefore it is alone, or at least above all others, that they ascribe the superlative praises of that Synod.

In that same place they stick not to take to themselves the honour of so great sincerity as any flesh in the world not onely hath at this present, but possibly can attain in any following Age (V). We wonder the lesse to hear them canonize their Colleague Master *Archer* after his death, among the most precious persons who ever trod upon the earth (X).

This self-overvaluing seems to be the ground why they cry out of their very moderate afflictions as of great calamities; they ingeminate to the Parliament, over and over, their persecution, their poverty, their miserable exile (Y); when they who understand the case, give assurance, that not one of Ten of the most prosperous Ministers of the whole world, in the time of their greatest Sunshine, did live in more wealth, ease, honour, and all worldly accommodations, then these poor miserable exiles did enjoy all the time of that which they call their banishment (Z).

My next observation upon that Church, is, that an humour of innovating at least, if not a spirit of error, did much predominate among them. To passe by that wantonnesse of wit, which in their Books, and Discourses doth much appear, whereby they attribute without fear, to a number of Scriptures, such new and strange senses as before them were never heard of: We finde them pleasing themselves in divers Doctrines, which no Reformed Church doth assert for truth, yea, their own Brethren, both of *New-England*, and of *Rotterdam*, and of *Amsterdam*, do reject as Errours.

They are not content with some few little touches of Chiliaism, which yet Master *Cotton* tells us are but fleshly imaginations (A A): But they run themselves over head and ears in the deepest gulph of that old Herefie. The glimpse of *Sions* glory Preached

The easinesse of their banishment and afflictions.

The new light at *Arnhem* broke out into a number of strange Errours.

First, Grosse Chiliaism.

Preached at a Fast in *Holland* by *T. G.* (which common report without any contradiction that I have heard declares to be *Thomas Goodwin*) avers, That Independency is a beginning, or at least a neer antecedent of Christs Kingdom upon Earth (*B B*): That within five years Christ is to come in the flesh (*CC*); and by a Sword of Iron, to kill with his own hand the most of his enemies (*DD*); and thereafter to passe over a thousand yeers (*EE*) as a worldly Monarch (*FF*) with his Saints: Who shall live with him all that time in all sorts of fleshly delights (*GG*). Master *Archer* the onely Pastor that ever they had, whose praises they found forth so loud in their Apologetick, would perswade us of the same, and more grosse stories (*HH*). Master *Burrows* in his late Sermons upon *Hosea*, runs in the same way (*II*.)

Secondly, The grossest blasphemy of the Libertines that God is the Author of the very sinfulness of sin.

Neither is this all the new Light that did shine forth in the Candlestick of *Arnhem*; but there also Master *Archer* giveth forth, for the comfort of his hearers, without the reproof so far as yet we have heard of any of his Colleagues, That God is not onely the Author of sin (*KK*), but also of the sinfulness, the very Formality, the Anomy, the Ataxy, the Pravity of sin (*LL*). A doctrine which all Protestants ever did abhor as high Blasphemy; and which, the Assembly of Divines, with both the Houses of Parliament, did condemn as such; appointing Master *Archers* Book for that worst Heresie of the Libertines, and grossest Blasphemy of the Antinomians, to be solemnly burnt by the hand of the Hangman (*MM*).

Thirdly, the fancy of the Enthusiasts in knowing God as God, abstracted from Scripture, from Christ, from Grace, and from all his attributes.

There was also another sparkle of new Light brake up in that Church, wherein one of their Doctors doth so much delight to this day; That not being content to have holden it out in *Holland*, he is said to have Preached it over and over in the most solemn Assemblies both of *Scotland* and *England*; That it is a duty incumbent to all who would be persit, to know God as God, without Christ, without the Scripture, in notions abstracted, not onely from all Grace, but from all Scripture, and from Christ (*NN*). I dare not affix unto this, the late Doctrine of some Seraphick Jesuites and Monks, wherein they have extravagated in their Lent Sermons, so many absurd and Heretical senses, as some very learned and good men have done in Print without any answer (*OO*); yet I must professe, if it be a truth, it is a very metaphysical one and much transcending my shallow understanding.



In that Church also the Doctrine of extreme Unction was so far brought back, That they began to annoint their sick with oyl (*P P*); taking it as an Ordinance of Christ, and a kinde of a Sacrament for the people, at least a holy Ceremony, no lesse of divine Institution then Ordination and imposition of hands were for Officers (*22*).

Fourthly, The old Popish Ceremonies of extreme Unction, and the holy kisse of Peace.

Also, they set on Foot another Religious ceremony in their Congregation, the holy Apostolick kisse (*R R*).

And as if all these innovations had not been sufficient, they began to put down all singing of *Psalms*, and to set up in their place *Their singing Prophets*, making one man alone to sing in the midst of the silent Congregation, the hymns which he out of his own gift had composed (*S S 1*). And this as I am informed by some who have been present, is now the settled practice of the remainder of the Church of *Arnhem*.

Fifthly, The discharging of the *Psalms*, the appointing of a singing Prophet to chaunt the Songs made by himself, in the silence of all others. Sixthly, The mortality of the soul.

Master *Edwards* layes to their charge, not onely that their principles lead to that horrible Errour which some of their followers maintain, *The mortality of the soul* (*S S 2*); but also, that their cheif Doctors had Preached, both in *Arnhem* and *England*, without the rebuke of any of their friends, *That the souls of the Saints go not after death to the Heavens* (*S S 3*). In that same place, the Pastor of *Arnhem*, without the reproof of any of his party to this day, so far as ever I heard, doth take away, and deny, that Heaven and that Hell which all Christians before him did ever beleeve; and in the place thereof, gives us new Heavens and new Hells of his own invention: He tells us confidently, *That no soul before Christs Ascension, did ever enter into that place which we commonly call Heaven, neither ever shall enter there, if you except Christ alone, unto the last day: That all the souls of the godly remain in a place of the higher Region of the Air, or at highest in the Element of the Fire; That Enoch and Elias, that the soul of Christ, before the Resurrection, and the soul of the good Theif, went no higher* (*S S 4*). He tells us, *That the place of the damned before the last judgement, is not any infernal fire, but some prison in the low Region of the Air, or at lowest, in some place of the Sea. After the day of judgement, he makes Hell a very large place; the whole Elements, the Heavens of the Planets and of the fixed Stars, yea, the whole Heavens, except that wherein God and the Angels do dwell, being all turned to their first matter, to him is Hell: With such fine new specu-*



Seventhly, the  
conveniency  
for Ministers  
to Preach co-  
vered, and ce-  
lebrate the Sa-  
craments dis-  
covered: but  
for the people  
to hear disco-  
vered, and to  
participate the  
Sacraments  
covered.

Their publike  
contentions  
were shameful.

lations do the Independent Pastors feed their Flocks (S S 5).

I have heard also one of their Doctors deliver it as his opinion, That it was expedient for the Minister in Preaching to have his head covered; and the people in time of Preaching to sit uncovered: But in the holy Communion, that it was expedient the Minister should celebrate that Sacrament uncovered unto the people covered. I do not deny my suspicion of the Spirit of these men, who are not afraid in so short a time, to vent such a multitude of strange novelties.

But the clearest *memento* which God hath given us to beware of the ways of that Church, is, Their bitter and shameful contentions among themselves, which, if not stopped by the Churches dissolution, might long before this day have produced as foul effects as any of the former. A part of this story, and but a part of it, you may read in that unanswerable Book of Master Edwards, where at length, you will see how their new fancies brought them to so bitter publike contention, and irreconcilable strife, as made their people confesse their doubting of the truth of their way (TT); and their principal Doctor, Master Goodwin, to avow his inclination to desert their society, and leave their Church (VV).

### The Testimonies.

(A) Anatomy of Independency, pag. 24. *That Independent Church at Rotterdam, was formerly under Presbyterial Government, and conformable to the Dutch Churches, and had onely begun to decline in Master Peters his time.*

(B) Antap. p. 17. *Master Bridge and Master Burrows were men judged conformable, till the year of Bishop Wrens visitation, and the sending down of his Injunctions to Norwich.*

(C) Ibid. *Master Bridge fell suddenly into the Church-way, as the short space between his Suspension at Norwich and his being received into a Church at Rotterdam, and thereupon, his first Letter to some of his old friends in Norwich will fully shew.*

(D) Anatom. pag. 23. *They, all renounced their Ordination in England, and ordained one another in Holland; first Master Bridges ordained Master Ward, and then immediately Master Ward ordained Master Bridges.*

(E)

(E) Antap. pag. 142. Master Simpson after some time of beholding the order and way of the Church at Rotterdam, desired to be admitted a Member, and was upon his Confession received in.

(F) Ibid. Master Simpson stood for the Ordinance of prophesying, and that the people on the Lords day should have liberty after the Sermon to put doubts and questions to the Ministers. Mr. Bridge opposed: Yet he yeilded so far, that the Church should meet on a week day, and then they should have that liberty; but this would not satisfie Master Simpson; whereupon the difference increased, and Master Simpson would abide no longer, but quitted that Church: and with the help of a Woman, whom Master Bridge called the Foundresse of Master Simpsons Church, set up a Church against a Church.

(G) Mistresse Bridge laid these bitter differences and reports so to heart, that they were a great means of her death.

(H) Ibid. Whether Master Bridges weaknesse and distempers were not occasioned by the divisions and wicked scandals raised upon him, as well as by the Air of Rotterdam, himself knows best.

Ibid. p. 143. Upon Master Simpsons renting from the Church, and setting up a Church against a Church, under Mr. Bridges nose; and upon wicked reports raised about Master Bridges, there grew that bitterness, evil speakings, and deep censurings, deadly feuds amongst these Ministers and their Churches, as never was more betwixt the Jews and the Samaritans. Master Bridge confessed to me, there were not such sharp tongues, nor bitter divisions as these.

Anatom. p. 6. Of these reproachings Master Bridges hath found notable experience at Rotterdam, to the tiring out of his spirit amongst them there, in so much as he hath been often heard to affirm, That if he had known at first what he met with afterward, he would never have come amongst them, nor being amongst them, have given them such liberty as he had.

(I) Antap. p. 35. Master Ward, Master Bridges colleague and old friend at Norwich, was deposed from his Ministry and Office by Master Bridges Church, for frivolous matters.

(K) Antap p. 184. I much wonder how you can call the meeting of Master Goodwin and Master Nyc, with two Gentlemen more, calling Master Bridge with the rest of that Church supposed to be Delinquents, such a solemn Assembly.

(L) Apol. Naration, p. 20. The Ministers of the Church offended, with other two Gentlemen of much worth, Members thereof,

were sent as Messengers from that Church, and at the introduction, and entrance of that solemn Assembly; the solemnity of which, hath left as deep an impression upon our hearts of Christs dreadful presence, as ever any we have been present at.

(M) Antap. p. 141. I desire to know whether Master Ward after he was restored, did, as formerly, officiate in that Church, and how long; and whether Master Bridge and he continued as fellow-Ministers; and whether between them two, and between the Church and Master Ward, there was that mutual carriage that ought to be between fellow-Ministers, and Ministers and People.

(N) Anatom. pag. 49. The Way of Union of these Churches could never be found till the Magistrates Authority and Command found it.

(O) Anato. p. 6. These two Churches being of late commanded by the Magistrates of Rotterdam to unite again in one, and that Church whereof Master Simpson was Minister, being unwilling to joyn to the other, unlesse some Members thereof should be cut-off first, especially one; and the Church whereof that party was a Member, being Willing to gratifie the other in this, and yet professing and attesting as an act of the whole Church by Writing, That all the time he had been a Member, his conversation had been without offence: Yet their Teacher was forced as himself confessed with grief of heart, having nothing to except against the person, to urge him to take his dismission from the Church.

(P) Ibid. Adde hereunto the defection of some of their Members to Anabaptism, and how apt others of them are to be made a prey therein, more then the Members of other Reformed Churches, as late instance hath manifested, some having professed Master Simpons principles have made them Anabaptists.

(Q) Anatom. p. 24. They cannot shew us such a fraternity between them and any Reformed Church, as I am (and I beleieve truly) informed, Master Simpons Church (whether by him or after his time by Master Simons, I have not enquired) entered into with these of the Separation at Amsterdam, by a mutual covenant and agreement to own each other. I beleieve it to be by vertue of that Covenant, that some of their Members, not Officers of the Church, do publikely Preach in Master Canns Pulpit at Amsterdam.

(R) Antap. p. 51. I can tell you how some of you who have not Churches here in London, go to separate Churches to partake of the Lords Supper.

Ibid.



Ibid. p. 56. Instance hath been given me particularly by a great friend of yours now in London; that when some of you have come to Amsterdam, you never would go to Master Herrings, a good old Non-conformist, but you have gone to Master Cann the Separatist, and to his Church.

Ibid. For their going to the Brownists, and conversing with Master Cann more then us, that is undeniable.

(S) Apol. Narration, p. 5. Whose sincerity in their way hath been testified before the world, and will be unto Generations to come, by the greatest undertaking but that of our Father Abraham out of his own Countrey, and his Seed after him.

(T) Vide supra. L.

(V) Apol. Nar. p. 3. In this inquiry we looked upon the Word of Christ as impartially and unprejudicedly, as men made of flesh and blood are like to do in any juncture of time that may fall out.

(X) Ibid. p. 22. We lost some friends and companions, our fellow-Labourers in the Gospel, as precious men as this Earth bears any.

(Y) Apol. Nar. p. 22. When it pleased God to bring us his poor exiles back again. Ibid. p. 23. Which was as great an affliction to us as our former troubles and banishment. Ibid. p. 31. Consider us as these who for many yeers suffered even to exile.

(Z) Antapol. p. 26. How dare you affirm that for your consciences you were deprived at once of what ever was dear to you? Were not your Wives, Children, Estates, Friends, and Lives dear to you? Had you not all these with you, and did you not in the Netherlands live in the best places, in much plenty, ease, and pomp? What great deprivation is this of what ever is dear, for men to take their own times, and to go in Summer, with Knights, Ladies, and Gentlewomen, with all necessaries, into Holland, and there to take choice of all the Land, and with Wives, Children, Friends, and Acquaintance, free from the fears and possibilities of vexation from the Spiritual Courts and Prisons, to enjoy all plenty and freedom as you did? many would have been glad, and still would be, to be so exiled into Holland, and to be able to spend there two or three hundred pounds per annum.

(A A) Cottons 6. Vial, pag. 9. I dare not take up such carnal imaginations, as that Christ shall come bodily, and reign here upon Earth.

(B B) Glimpse of Sions glory, p. 33. If God have such an intention to glorifie his Church, and that in this world, what manner of

persons ought yet to be, because ye are beginning this despised work, gathering a Church together, which way God will honour & certainly, the Communion of Saints, and Independency of Congregations, God will honour.

(CC) Daniel 12. 11. From the time that the daily Sacrifice shall be taken away, there shall be 1290. dayes; what is the meaning of this? A day is usually taken for a year. This abomination of desolation was in Julians time in the 360. year; now reckon so many years according to the number of the dayes, it comes to 1650. and it is like to be it, as any that can be named. But it is said, Blessed is he that comes to the 1335. dayes, that is, forty five years more added; it shall begin in the 1650. but it comes not to full head till forty five years more.

(DD) Ibid. In the Epistle, take this rule, That all Texts of Scripture are to be understood literally, except they make against other Scriptures, or except the very coherence of the Scripture shew it otherwise.

Ibid. p. 17. Indood, if we be put upon allegorical senses, we may put off any Scripture; but if we take them literally, Why should we not?

Ibid. p. 21. Christ is described in the 19. of the Revelation, with his Garments dyed in blood, when he doth appear to come and to take the Kingdom; when he appears with many Crowns upon his head, that notes his many victories.

Ibid. p. 17. The promise that is made Revel. 12. He shall rule them with a Rod of Iron, and as the Vessels of a Potter they shall be broken to shivers: What shall we make of this?

(EE) Ibid. p. 14, 15. The reigning with Christ 1000. years, is not meant of reigning with him in Heaven, but it must be meant of Jesus Christs coming and reigning here gloriously for 1000. years.

(FF) Ibid. p. 17. What shall we make of this, except there be a glorious reign of Christ with the Saints? Christ is said to make them Kings, so as to have power and dominion in the world.

(GG) Ibid. p. 13. There is no reason why that of the 26. of Matth. v. 29. I will drink it new with you in my Fathers Kingdom, may not be taken literally.

(HH) Archers personal reign, p. 5. I call this last state of his, Monarchical, because he will govern as earthly Monarchs have done, that is, universally over the world in these dayes, known, and esteemed;

esteemed; and in a worldly, visible, earthly glory, not by tyranny, oppression, and sensually, but with honour, peace, riches, and whatsoever in and of the World, is not sinful, having all Nations and Kingdoms doing homage to him, as the great Monarchs of the World had.

(II) Barrows upon Hosea, p.145. These are the new Heavens and the new Earth that are to be created; and this is meant of the Church plainly: For the Text, Verse 12. speaks of building houses, and inhabiting them, and of planting Vineyards, and eating the fruit of them upon these new Heavens, and this new Earths Creation.

Ibid. p.191. And literally we are to understand many Scriptures that tend this way concerning the fruitfulness of the Earth, and the outward external glory, that then shall be in the Creatures.

(KK) Archers comfort for beleivers, p.41. God may as cruelly and easily, have a will and hand in, and be the Author of sins, as of afflictions.

Ibid. We may safely say, that God is, and hath an hand in, and is the Author of the sinfulness of his people.

(LL) Ibid. p. 36. The fear of some of these inconveniences, hath made Divines not to acknowledge so much of God in sin, as is in sin: They have erred on the other hand, and made sin more of the Creature and it self and lesse from God then it is: They grant that God is Willing sin should be, and that he permits it, and orders circumstances about its production, and hath an hand in, and is the Author of the Physical or Moral act, in, and with which sin is; but the essence of sin, that is, the Pravity and Ataxy, the Anomy and Irregularity of the act, which is the sinfulness of it, God hath no hand, neither is he any Author at all thereof. This opinion goes wrong another way, and gives not to God enough in sin. Let us imbrace and professe the truth, and not fear to say that of God, which he in his holy Book saith of himself, namely, That of him and from his hand, is not onely the thing that is sinful, but the pravity and sinfulness of it.

(MM) A short Declaration of the Assembly, by way of Detestation of the abominable and blasphemous opinion. The Order of the House of Lords runs thus, Complaint being this day made to the Lords in Parliament, by the Assembly of Divines, that a certain blasphemous and heretical Book, intituled, Comfort for Beleivers, is printed and published, being written by John Archer;  
their



their Lordships much abhorring the said blasphemies, do award and adjudge, that the said Book shall be burnt by the hand of the common Hangman.

(NN) Doctor Stewarts Duply to M. S. second part, pag. 128. Not long since I heard one of the Ringleaders of the Independents Sect deliver this doctrine in a Sermon at the Abbey of Westminster. viz. That to a saving knowledge of God, it sufficeth not to know him in the Book of nature; or secondly, as revealed in the holy Scriptures; but that we must also know him as abstract from his mercy and all his attributes.

(OO) Ibid. If I know God abstracted from his mercy, I know him out of Christ, and out of the Gospel; for God in Christ and in the Gospel, is not abstract, but concrete with mercy. If God be considered as abstract from all his attributes, it is no more a knowledge of God, but some idol of the Independent brains.

(PP) Antap. p. 36. Master Goodwin did anoint a Gentlewoman (whose name I conceal) when she was sick, and she recovered after it, say they.

(QQ) Ibid. Anointing the sick with Oyl, was held in that Church of Arnhem as a standing Ordinance for Church-Members, as laying on of hands was a standing Ordinance for Church-Officers.

(RR) Ibid. p. 60. I propound it to you, whether a little before your coming over into England, some Members of the Church of Arnhem, did not propone the Holy Kisse, or the Kisse of Love to be practised by Church-Members? Nay, Whether by some persons in that Church was it not begun to be practised?

(SS 1.) Ibid. p. 36. A Gentleman of note in that Church did propone in the Church, that singing of Hymns was an Ordinance; which is, that any person of the Congregation exercising their own gifts, should bring an Hymn and sing it to the Congregation, all the rest being silent, and giving audience.

(SS 2.) Antap. p. 262. Some of Arnhem hold strange conceits: Daily the Independent Churches like Affrica, do breed and bring forth the Monsters of Anabaptism, Antinomianism, Familism, nay, That huge Monster and old fleeing Serpent of the Mortality of the soul of man.

(SS 3.) Ibid. p. 262. I have been told of some odde things preached by one of you five, both in England and Holland, and of some points Preached in the Church of Arnhem, never questioned there,

and since Printed not very Orthodox; as for instance among others, That the souls of the Saints do not go to Heaven to be with Christ.

(SS 4.) Archers personal raig, p. 23. This Objection supposes the souls of the dead Saints to be in the highest Heavens, which is not so: It is likely the souls of the dead Saints are not in the highest Heavens, but in a middle place, which is meant in the New Testament by paradise; into this paradise went Christs soul, and the thief, which was not Heaven. Its most probable that Christs soul never went into the highest Heavens, till his Body went also. Ibid. None but Christ, and so none before Christ, ever entered the highest Heavens. The way to Heaven was never opened till Christ the high Priest entered Body and Soul into it. The highest Heavens never had but one man into them, namely Christ, nor shall have till the worlds end.

Ibid. p. 25. If you ask where this place of Paradise is: I answer, It must be below the highest Heavens; therefore, surely it is in the Region or Element of fire, where the Sun and Stars are, or in the highest Region of the Ayr.

(SS 5.) Archers personal raig, p. 35. At the day of judgement the wicked shall be sent with the Devil unto Hell, which Hell shall not be that which is now called Hell, but another; for the Hell that now is, is but a prison, and not the place of execution: At the last day this Hell that now is, shall cease. This Hell which is at present, to be sure is in some of the places of the Air, or the Waters, and not in the Earth: But the Hell which shall be the everlasting torment of all the damned, shall be all this lower and visible World. All the places of the Earth, Water, Air, Sun, Moon, Stars, and the Fire, called the Heavens, and the Earth. The things which God immediately made out of nothing, shall never change: As the highest Heavens, and the Angels in them, and the souls of men, and this Chaos called the Earth; but all other things being made out of something, even out of this Earth or Chaos, they shall after a time change; and so all this World shall come to an Earth or Chaos again. God in time did make two places, Heaven and Earth, immediately out of nothing, to be eternal places, the one of Joy, the other of Torment. Thus you see when Hell was made but it was quickly covered, and shall not be uncovered; till Christ do it at the last day.

(TT) Antap. p. 36. The Gentleman censured, brings an accusation against Master Nye, charging him with Pride, want of Charity, &c. And this being brought before the Church, continued in debate about half a year, three or four days in a week, and sometimes more, before all the Congregation; divers of the Members having callings to follow, they desired leave to be absent. Master Goodwin oft professed publikely upon these differences, If this were their Church-fellowship, he would lay down his Eldership; and nothing was more commonly spoke among the Members, then that certainly for matter of Discipline, they were not in the right way, for that there was no way to bring things to an end.

(VV) Vide supra. T T.

## CHAP. V.

*The Carriage of the Independents at London.*

The work of  
the prime In-  
dependents of  
New-England,  
Arnheim, and  
Rotterdam, these  
five yeers at  
London.

**Y**OU have gotten a taste of the Fruits of this Tree, as it grows in *New-England* and *Holland* : When it is transplanted to *Old-England*, consider if the Grapes of it be any thing sweeter. These Five last yeers, the chief of that party, both from *Arnheim*, *Rotterdam* and *New-England*, have kept their residence at *London*, to advance, by common counsels and industry, their Way, in these days of their hopes. A full account of their courses in that place cannot be expected, so long as many passages concerning them lie in the dark, and the end is not yet come. But three things seem to be clear, which make their Way at *London* no more lovely then in the places mentioned. First, they have been here exceeding unhappie in retarding, and to their power crossing the blessed Reformation in hand. Secondly, they have pregnantly occasioned the multiplication of Heresies and Schisms, above all that ever was heard of in any one place in any former Age. Thirdly, they have occasioned such Divisions in the State, that, had it not been for the extraordinary mercies of God, the Parliament and all that follow them, had long ago been laid under the feet of their enraged enemies, and the whole Isle, long before this, been totally ruined.

They did hinder with all their power, so long as they were able, the calling of the Assembly.

As for the first, The Reformation of Religion, so much wished for by all the godly for so many yeers, all know it could never have been attained without the help of an Assembly of Divines: Who opposeth the necessary Mean, cannot be taken for a friend of the End. The Assembly, the necessary mean of Reformation, was for a very long time hindred, by the diligence of the Independent party, to be called (*A*) : and when, to their evident grief and discontent, the Parliament had voted its calling, they may remember their extraordinary industry to get it modelled according to their Principles, both in its members and power (*B*) ; to have it an elective Synod onely for advice, to consist of so many of themselves and of their favourers as was possible, not any known Divine of any parts in all *England* of their opinion, being



ing omitted. How cautious they were by great slight of hand to keep off so many of the old Puritan Unconformists, as they were wont injuriously to be called, & how much more enclinable towards men of Episcopal and Liturgick principles, themselves do know; albeit their underhand-working before the sitting of the Assembly, was seen but by few: but so soon as the Synod did sit, it did then appear to the whole Company who were the men who made it their work and greatest studie to keep off, by their endlesse Janglings, the Assembly from concluding any thing that might settle the distracted Church (C); so that to this day, after two yeers time and above, in more frequent and longer Sessions then every we read of in any Assembly since the world began (D), There is nothing at all set up for the comfort of the afflicted Kingdom.

When it was called, they retarded its proceedings.

Their averfeness to the Assembly doth appear, not onely in their opposition to its calling, in their retarding of its proceedings, but in their pressing of its dissolution. I do not speak of the huge Contumelies which some of their party have poured out upon the face of that most Reverend Meeting, in a number of very wicked Pamphlets, which to this day were never so much as censured, though the Authors, by name and surname, are complained of in Print. But that which I speak of, is the expresse Article of the Independent Betition, desiring the Parliament in formal terms, according to Master *Peters* dictates, to dissolve the Assembly (D 2.). O what more evident!

Had either the Popish faction, or the Episcopal party, or the malignant Courtiers procured the continuance of our woful Anarchie, our anger would have been greater then our grief or shame. But when the mercies of God now for some yeers have removed the Papists, Prelats and Courtiers so far from us, that by word or deed they have not hindred us in the least measure to heal the diseases of our Church at our pleasure; that her wounds to this day should be multiplied, and all be kept open to drop out her best blood, alone through the obstinacy of our Brethren, though we compress our indignation, yet we cannot but be oppressed with a great measure of grief, nor can we chuse but to be covered with confusion and shame, when we are forced to taste the most bitter fruits of our Brethrens principles, though denied by them in words, yet ingenuously avowed by their friends in *Amsterdam*,

That the Churches of England and Ireland lie so long in confusion, neither Papists, nor Prelates, nor Malignants have been the cause.

But the Independents working according to their principles.

and constantly practised in *New-England*; to the uttermost of their power (*E 1.*), they must oppose the building of a Church any where in the world, if it be not after their patern:

That as in *New-England* no Presbyterial Church on any condition may be tolerated, so in *Old-England* no Presbyterial Church must ever be erected, if all their skill and industry can hinder it. Such a Reformation, though expressly according to the National Covenant, to them is a deformation which they cannot wish, much lesse pray for or endeavour, but with all their strength must crosse it, as a corruption unsufferable, where they have power.

Its plain and demonstrable, that their Principles and Way have forced them to oppose the Reformation in hand, and will ever force them so to do, till they lay new grounds, and be changed in the sence of their erroneous minde. However, the actions of our Brethren did proclame loud enough their intentions to delay so long as they were able, the setting up of any Government; yet when this evil is become so grosse and palpable, that all in words do disclaim it, and they who most do procure it, do most in shew abominate it, it seems a little strange that some of their Divines are now begun in Print expressly to own it, and in Print to perswade the delay of this work (*E 2.*).

The great mischief of that Anarchy wherein they have kept the Churches of *England* and *Ireland* for so long a time. Independency is the mother of more Heresies and Schisms at *London*, then *Amsterdam* ever knew.

It must be a heave guiltinesse to be a powerful instrument of keeping two so great Kingdoms as *England* and *Ireland* without the Fold and Hedge of all Ecclesiastike Discipline for divers yeers together, especially in the time of a devouring War. How many thousand souls have perished by this means in their ignorance and profanesse, who in a wel-governed Church might have been reclaimed?

Unto this great misery, another great unhappinesse addeth much weight. Beside their marring of the begun-Reformation, they have occasioned the perishing of some millions of poor souls, by the unheard-of multiplication of Heresies and Schisms (*F*). I believe no place in the world, for this mischief, is now parallel to *London*. *Amsterdam* long ago is justified; that City hath transmitted hither the infamy of her various Sects. Now upon whom shall this blame be fastned?

It is well known that the Sects, at the time of the Independents return hither, were inconsiderable, in regard of that which now they are by their means. It was their work to bring people into



into distaste with the way of all the Reformed Churches : this by their labours was made vile in the eyes of the multitude ; and people once having leaped over that wall within the which all the Protestant Churches have dwelt in safety , by all the skill of their first misleaders could not be holden from running farther away ; as in *New-England* Independency was a mother to Anabaptism, Antinomianism, Familism, and many more Heresies, We need not wonder to see it any where bring forth the like Brood : But hereof indeed do we wonder, that in so short a time this Way should change as it were its nature so farre to the worse.

In *Holland* and *New-England*, Independency, so soon as it had found and discerned the young brats of Anabaptists, Antinomians or Familists in her bosom, it was her custom incontinently to sling them away as Bastards : But Independency at *London* hath learned not onely to beget, but to cherish such children when they are brought forth. Not onely the Churches of *New-England*, but the very *Amsterdam*-Brownists have ever been zealous to cast out of their Society the Heretikes and Schismatickes we speak of : but here in *London* it is far otherwise.

Independency at *London* doth not onely bring forth, but nourish and patronize Heresies and Schisms, contrary to its custom either in *New-England* or *Amsterdam*.

We have heard that many of the Independents here, so soon as they have fallen into Anabaptism or other Errours of the time, have quickly of their own accord run away and separated from the Independent Congregations, as polluted, as false, as no Churches : But that ever any of the *London*-Independents did cast out of their Churches any man or woman for Anabaptism, Antinomianism or any other Errour, we never heard.

By the contrary, Independency here is become an uniting Principle ; it hath kept our Brethren in the midst of all their bitter Jarrs with the Reformed Churches abroad, and the Presbyterians at home, in a great entirenesse and familiarity with all the Sectaries that pleased to draw neer them. They have by their debates and dissents laboured to hinder the Assembly from giving the least advice to the Parliament to take any order with the most absurd of the Sectaries, when complained upon for their greatest Enormities ; yea, they have preached and printed divers Tractates for a full liberty to all Sects (G). That so soon they should have run thus far out, we could never have believed, if our own eyes and ears had not been our perswaders.



How hazard-  
ous it may  
prove to the  
State of Eng-  
land.

As for the third Apple we observed on their Tree, The endangering of the State, it is no lesse visible then any of the former. If there were no more but the keeping of the Church-wounds so long open, the health, yea the life of the State might justly be feared, from this ground alone, by all who know the sympathy of these Twins, and the inseparable interest of these two much-united Companions. But beside the keeping of the Church unsetled, the growth of Schisms, how pregnant a cause it is of a States ruine, we need no other witnesse then the declaration of their Brethren in *New-England* (H). We are made here to believe, that the Anabaptists and the Antinomians are so tame and harmlesse creatures, that there is no danger of any violence from their innocent hands. If it be so, the General Court at *New-Boston* hath been extremely unjust, who professed their wel-grounded apprehension of a total subversion not onely of all their Churches, but of their Civil State also, from a far lesse number of these Sectaries then are here among us; and avowed to the world their necessity to banish out of that Countrey the leaders of that dangerous Faction, whether men or women, whether Church or States-men, and to disarm many of their followers, upon much much smaller provocations and lighter grounds of suspition then by the words and deeds of their kinsfolks have been offered lately unto this State. (I)

What more might be said of the *London-Independents* practices upon the State, readily may come to the world ere long by a much better Pen. I for causes at this time abstain totally from meddling with this subject.

### The Testimonies.

(A) Antap. p. 51. I believe upon good grounds, and so do many more, you never took any great content or joy in the thoughts of the Assembly, but have done your utmost to delay it and to put it by. God knows your hearts, and men some of your speeches about the meeting of this Assembly: But seeing it could not be helped, and that you could not keep it off by all your friends, &c.

(B) Antap. p. 255. When an Assembly was first agreed upon, there were not many more Ministers and Scholars of your way in the Kingdom who were capable of such a Service, then you got in to be Members of the Assembly; so that you had as much advantage as your condition was capable of, yea, and favour too. See the Orders of the Assembly, which give no power at all of Jurisdiction to the few selected Divines, but alone a power of advice.

Antap.

(C) Antap. p. 269. I am confident had it not been for you five, and a few more, the Reformation intended had been in a far fairer way then now it is. Brethren, there are many complaints, and that by your dear friends, of the retarding the Work of Reformation by your means. You are the Remora to the Ship under Sails, you are the Spoaks in the Wheels of the Chariot of Reformation. Parliament complains, Assembly, City, Countrey, all complain of the Work retarded, and all is resolved into you five principally. I could tell you many particular passages, but you know what I mean. In a word, all the Prelates and the Papists cannot, nor do not hinder so much the Work of Reformation, as you five Members of the Assembly.

(D 1.) The Scribes Books carry already above 500 Sessions.

(D 2.) Prynnes fresh Discovery, p. 17. They lately conspired together to exhibite a Petition to the Parliament for present dissolving the Assembly, and sending them home to Countrey cures, to prevent the setting of any Church Government, to which end they met at the Winde-Mill Tavern, where John Lillburn sat in the Chair, and Master Hugh Peters suggested the advice, which was accordingly inserted in the Petition.

(E 1.) Answer to 32. Quest. p. 83. If that Discipline which we here practise, be the same which Christ hath appointed, and therefore unalterable: We see not how another can be lawfull. So if a company of people shall come hither, and set up another, we cannot promise to approve of them in so doing.

(E 2.) Burtons Vindication, p. 2. If the better heed be not taken, there may be more haste to a Reformation then good speed; A Reformation therefore will necessarily require longer time yet, that we may not go blindfold about it. See also Saltmarsh his Queres.

(F) Bastwicks second part of Independency. Postscript, p. 37. Before the Independents Apparition in our Horison, there were but three or four Sects known among us, and they were few in number, and well conditioned; but out of the Independents Lungs are sprung above forty several sorts of strazlers, which before their coming over were never heard of among us. John Lillburn related it unto me, and that in the presence of others, that returning from the wars to London, he met forty new Sects, and many of them dangerous ones, and some so pernicious, that howsoever, as he said, he was in his judgement for Toleration of all Religions, yet he professed he could scarce keep his hands off them, so blasphemous they were in their opinions; So that he gathered that these were now the Last days, wherein so many Heresies abounded: There are innumerable diabolical Sects, and so prodigiously impious, that it is not for a Christian to name their opinions; and most of them, if not all, were first Independents, and such as separated from our Congregations as unholy, and were of their new gathered Churches, and followers of their Ministry.

(G) A short Answer to Adam Stewarts second part, supposed to be written by John Goodwin, p. 32. and 36. Is it not an ungodly thing to suffer men to be of any Religion? Answer. No, For both our Saviour and the Apostles, and the primitive Christians did the same: Ought we not at least to keep our different Opinions, and Religion unto our selves, in obedience to the Civil Magistrate that commands it? Answer. No, Because its better to obey God then man; but if  
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Jesuites Papists, and other subtile Hereticks be suffered; will they not seduce many unto their erroneous By-paths? Answer. Though a Toleration of erroneous Opinions may gain some to Satan, yet Truth being therewith to be published and approved, will in all probability, not onely gain so many more to God; but any one thus wonn to the Truth, is worth thousands of these that fall from it.

(H) Cottons Model of Church and Civil power related in the Bloody Tenent, p. 120. The falls of Common-wealths are known to arise from their diminishing the power of the Church, and the flourishing of Common-wealths is observed to arise from the vigilant administration of the holy Discipline of the Church.

(I) Master Prynnes fresh discovery in the Epistle. Their Libels, actions, speeches, proclaim a plotted, avowed confederacy among some furious Ringleaders of these Independent Sectaries, against the Parliament, Assembly, and all their resolves in matters of Religion. That which confirms me in this opinion, is, first the new seditious Covenants which the Members of some Independent Congregations enter into, to adhere, defend, maintain, to the uttermost of their power, and contend for even to blood, the establishment of that Independent Form of Church Government which themselves have set up, and to oppose the Presbyterian.

Bastwicks second part, p. 28. This that I now say, I speak upon very good ground; among these they think they may confide in, they affirm they will not be beholding to the Parliament, nor any body else for their liberty; for they will have it, and ask them no leave. They have the Sword now in their hand, and they think their party strong enough to encounter any adverse party: And they profess they care not how soon they come to cutting of throats, and speak of nothing but the slaughtering and butchering of the Presbyterians: And therefore there is just cause given us to think we may expect better quarters from the very enemies, then from the Independents, who call us in their Pulpits Brethren, but in their hearts hate us.

Ibid. Postscript, p. 6. The Presbyterian Government not suiting with their humour, they abhor it, and all such as endeavour to establish it; and wish rather that all the old Trumpery were brought in again; and profess, they had rather have the Government of the Prelates: Yea, some of them have not been ashamed to protest unto Prelatical Priests, That before the Presbyters shall rule over them, they will cut all their throats, and joyn with them for the reestablishing of the Hierarchy.

Ibid. p. 30. Professing, that all such Preachers who Preach and write the least thing in opposition to their Opinions, ought to be hanged: And had they the power in their hands, they would trusse them up, as many can testifie.

Ibid. p. 45. They boast of such a party in the Kingdom, if their own words may be credited, as they now think by the Sword to be able to make their own Laws; and have been frequently heard say, That they had many Abbettours in the Assembly and both Houses of Parliament, and in many parts through the Kingdom, besides in all the Armies: And they were all resolved to have the Liberty of their Consciences, or else they would make use of their Swords, which they have already in their hands.

Ibid. p. 68. I know not any Independent in England, except one man and his wife, that do not as maliciously and implacably hate the Presbyterians as the mortallest enemy they have in the world.

## CHAP. VI.

*An Enumeration of the common Tenets of the Independents.*

IT is not easie to set down with assurance the *Independents* positions, both because they have to this day declined to declare positively their minds; as also because of their principle of mutability, whereby they professe their readinesse to change any of their present Tenets.

Why it is hard to set downe the *Independents* positions.

How unwilling they are to declare their mind, may appeare by their obstinate silence, and refusing to answer any of these Books that put them most to it; also, by hiding of their opinions from their Brethren, who most earnestly have prest their Declaration.

They have declined to declare their Tenets, more then has ever been the custome of any Orthodox Divines.

These divers yeares the Ministers of *London* have been dealing with them for satisfaction herein, and once by importunity obtained a promise under their hand of a full and free Declaration, but these foure yeares they have eluded that promise (a).

Mr. *Apollonius* in name of all the Churches of *Zealand* with all earnestnesse did intreat this duty of them (b), but all in vaine. When upon any occasion they have been moved to make any kind of Narration of their way, it was ever with an expresse proviso of their resolution to keep up as yet from the World their positive Tenets; so they conclude their *Apologetick* (c), so they begin their *Keyes* (d).

And now when the indignation both of the Assembly and Parliament, and of many more, was likely to break out upon them for this, that after so long time no plaine dealing hath been seen in them, at last they have engaged themselves to declare their minds; and yet since that their publike engagement there are six Months past, and the Worlds expectation of understanding at last their mind, is still suspended.

When they shal bee pleased to declare themselves to the full, their principle of change will hinder the to assure us that any thing is their settled, and firm Tenet wherein they will bee this constant,

And though that their Declaration should come out to morrow, yet with what assurance can we take any thing therein for their constant and settled Tenet, so long as they professe it to be one of their cheife principles to be so loose and irresolute in any thing they maintaine for the time, that they are ready to leave it, and upon occasion to embrace the contrary (e)? So long as



The chief Tenets which hitherto they have given out, and not yet recalled, are these following.

They reject the name of *Independents* unreasonably, and for their own disadvantage.

When it is laid aside, the more infamous name of *Brownists* and *Separatists* will justly fall upon them.

this skeptick irresolution is avowed, there is no hope, there is no possibility of any fixed constancy.

These things considered, no man is able to set down their full mind, nor any one of their positions whereto any dare assure they will firmly stand; only the chiefe of their singularities which they have been pleased to let come abroad, and have not to our knowledge as yet revoked, we shall set down as they come to our thoughts.

It hath been hitherto their earnest desire to decline the infamy of *Brownisme*, and it was the charity of their Brethren to distinguish them from that Sect, under the new name of *Independents*: importing their chiefe difference from us to stand not in the point of separation, which is our proper quarrell with the *Brownists*, but alone in the point of Church-Government, which against all the Reformed Churches they maintaine to be Independent, that is, not subject to the Authority and Jurisdiction of any Superiour Synod. This was thought to be their proper distinctive and characteristick Tenet, till of late we finde them passionately reject the name of *Independents*, and tell us, that the dependency or independency of their Congregations will be found one of their least differences and smallest controversies.

In this our long mistake, we are content to be rectified; albeit our charity should not be reproved, who being ignorant of their willingness to differ from us in any thing higher or deeper then the Dependency of Congregations upon the Authority of Superiour Assemblies, did put upon them no other name then that which implied this difference alone.

It seemes that this Title is not only the most reasonable, but the most innocent and inoffensive note of distinction, which themselves could have chosen: The terme not being invented by any of their ill-willers, but by their own cheife Leaders (f), who did think that word most proper to notifie their Tenet of Government; and since some name must be given to every eminently differing party, it seemes none lesse irritative could bee fallen upon, then that which most properly did signifie the chiefe matter in Controversie.

But now finding they avow their chiefe differences to lie elsewhere, for my part I could yeeld to them to have the name of *Independents* buried, did I not feare it behoved to be changed with

with another Title, which would much more displease: For since they are gone beyond the question of Independent Government, and now doe question the constitution of our Churches, so farre as puts them on a necessity of Separation, and in this doe place the chiefe of their Controversies with us: If a Sect may be denominated either from the Author or principall matter, as they make no bones to Print us *Calvinians* (g) and *Presbyterians* (h): I cannot conceive why they ought not to take it in good part, if when the name of *Independents* is laid by, they have in place of it, the Title of *Brownists* and Separatists fastned upon them.

Of their owne accord they take upon them openly the halfe of the thing we alledge, professing themselves to lie halfeway off us, towards *Brownisme* (i) avowing the truth to consist in this their middle way: But whosoever considers better of the matter, will find, that however in some things they incline to a middle way; yet in the chiefe and most, they come up close to the out-molt line of *Brownisme*, and in many things doe expatiate so much beyond it, that in place of the Semi-Separation they mention, they may be justly argued to have drawn upon themselves the blot of Sefqui-Separation and more also: how true this is, it will appeare to any, who will be pleased to make a paralell of the fore-mentioned Tenets of the *Brownists* with these of the *Independents*, which here are subjoynd.

First, the worst and uttermost Tenet of the *Brownists* for which they took to themselves, and had bestowed upon them by others the stile of Separatists, was their doctrine and practise accordingly, to Separate from the Churches of *England*: In this the *Independents* goe beyond them. For beside that the practice of both is the same, both actually Separating from all the Congregations of *England*; the grounds of the *Brownists* Separation were a great deale more reasonable, then that of the *Independents*, albeit neither of them be good and sufficient: For the *Brownists* did build their Separation on the Tyranny of Bishops, on the Superstition of the Ceremonies and Service-Book; on the grosse, avowed, and neglected profanenesse of the most in every Congregation: if these corruptions had been removed, so farre as I have read in any of their writings, they would no more have Separated. But the *Independents* having no such stumbling blocks in their way, Bishops

They avow a Semi-Separation, but a Sefqui-Separation will bee proved upon them.

The *Independents* doe separate from all the Reformed Churches upon farre worse grounds then the *Brownists* were wont to separate.

and Books being abolished, and a barre set up in every Congregation to keep off from the Sacrament, every scandalous and ignorant person, notwithstanding they will yet Separate. The more unjust and lesse cause they have so to doe, their separation must bee so much the worse, the grosser and more inexcusable Schisme.

Their acknowledgment of the Reformed for true Churches doth not diminish, but encrease their Schisme.

What they say for the avoyding of this challenge, will not hold water; while they tell us that they are not Separatists, because they avow the Church of *England* to be a true and gracious Church, That the Ministry of it, is true and saving. They should consider that the *Brownists*, when the fit of charity commeth upon them, say large as much as all this, as before from their own words we have shown (*k*): also that some of the *Independent* Party have gone as farre as that which they confesse makes the *Brownists* to be justly called Schismaticks (*l*); but however, suppose their allegation were true, it doth not excuse and diminish, but much encrease the fault of their separation: For it is a greater sinne to depart from a Church which I professe to bee true, and whose Ministry I acknowledge to be saving, then from a Church which I conceive to be false, and whose Ministers I take to have no calling from God, nor any blessing from his hand.

They refuse all Church communion and membership in all the Reformed Churches, they preach and pray in them as they would doe among Pagans, only as gift d men to gather new Churches.

Neither are they cleared from the blot of Schisme by their countenancing the English Assemblies, by their preaching and praying therein: for beside that they doe no more in this then Mr *Robinson* hath taught them (*m*); They should remember they teach their Schollars, that Preaching, Prayer, Psalmes, and all things they doe in the English Congregation, are no acts of Church Fellowship (*n*): that none of them doth import any Church Membership, nor any Ecclesiastick Communion: but are such which without icruple they can dispence to very Pagans.

But we would intreat them to declare if they would be willing to receive any Sacrament in the English Congregations, or if they will be content to bee under any part of their Discipline, if they will be either Members or Officers in any of our Churches.

I see indeed the Apologists professe their participation of Baptisme in our Congregations, but besides that, the *Brownists* will professe so much of themselves (*o*); yet how this is consistent with the constant practice and Doctrine of the *Independents*, I confesse my understanding is too blunt to conceive.

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For however in *New-England*, they give the right hand of Fellowship to the *Brownists* Congregations (*p*); and at *London* they are said to goe to the *Brownists* Sacraments (*q*): and we did never heare that either in *England* or *Holland*, they refused any to be a Member for their beliefe of rigid separation, or Anabaptisme; nor censured any of their Members for falling into these errors: yet in formall termes, they doe deny the most gracious of their Brethren to live beside them in *New-England* in the *Presbyteriall* way of the old Non-conformists (*r*): yea, in Print they avow that whosoever refuseth their Tenet of *Independency*, were they otherwise never so Orthodox and pious, they ought not to be admitted to the Sacraments, nor enjoy any Church Priviledge (*s*): as people who cannot be wholly, but at most are in part only converted: Yea, as such who must be taken for Anti-christian spirits, for enemies to Christ and his Kingdome (*t*): Neither have I heard that any of them now for many yeares, have either celebrated to others or received themselves the Sacraments in any English Church.

And when it was propounded that they might take charge in some of the best Reformed Congregations of *England*; with a full assurance of a personall dispensation to them for their whole life, if they would leave but that one intollerable Tenet of Separation; to this day they have disregarded that kind and brotherly Accommodation; shewing expressly that in this point of separate Congregations they would be tolerated, or nothing else would satisfie their consciences; beyond this their best friends were not able by their long and earnest endeavours for divers weeks together to draw them one haire-breadth (*w*): if this be not a more cleare and a more inexcusable Separation then was ever yet laid to the charge of any *Brownists*, I professe my utter mistake of the nature of Schisme, and desire to be rectified.

The next singularity of the *Brownists*, their Doctrine of the constitution of the Church in matter and forme, the *Independents* have borrowed to the full: and not only enlarged it, but when all other grounds faile, upon this alone they build the necessity of their separation.

Concerning the matter of the Church, the *Independents* have learned all their unjust scrupulosity from the other; as the *Brownists* require every Church member to be a Saint, really regenerate

About the matter of the Church and qualification of members, they are large, as strict as the *Brownists*, admitting none but who convince the whole Congregation of their reall regeneration.

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rate and justified, who at their admission have publickly satisfied the whole Congregation by convincing signes of their true holiness: the other requires the same (x.) What ever indulgence here the *Independents* profess to give, either to weak ones in whom they finde the least of Christ, or to women whom they remit from the Congregation to speak more privately in the Eldership (y), this is no other then the present practise of the *Brownists* at *Amsterdam*.

Besides true grace they require a suitable measure of spirit.

But in this they are laxer then the *Brownists*, that they can take in without scruple *Anabaptists*, *Antinomians*, & others, who both in life & doctrine have evident blots, if so they be zealous and serviceable for their way.

About the forme of the Church, a Church Covenant they are more punctual then the *Brownists*.

Only we observe, that the *Independents* here go farther from the Reformed Churches, both in the strictness, and in the looseness of their satisfactions. The *Brownists* are satisfied with the signes of personall grace, but the *Independents* require more; they proceed to a triall by a long conversation of the sociable and complying disposition of the person to be admitted, with the spirits of the whole Church whereof he is to be a member (z); without this suitability of spirit they will reject them whom otherwise they finde to be Saints (aa). But their chiefe excess here is in looseness. The *Brownists* will not dispence with known errors and sinnes in the members; they will not admit of *Anabaptists*, of proud, luxurious, contentious people. If they finde any such to have crept in among them, they profess their judgement is for their casting out by censures. But the *Independents* will here be more wise for the encrease of their party: and however they will have nothing to do with *Presbyterians* (bb), nor with such people who can live in their confused Congregations; yet they make it their rule to hold out none for any error that is not fundamentall, nor for any sinne that is not continued in against conscience (cc); walking according to this rule, they swallow down without trouble the small gnats of *Anabaptism*, and all other Sects, who erre not fundamentally, and obstinately, and against conscience: how many Sectaries are thus farre guilty, who can determine? The little spot of luxury in apparell, in diet, and many fleshly delights, of strife, of disdainfull railing, and such other faults (as are too common in their members) are of easy digestion (dd).

Concerning the other part of the Church essence, its forme, their Covenant: in this the Disciples go much above their Master. Mr Cotton hath perfected by an expresse Treatise, this part of *Brownism* (ee), as many others. The Covenants of *New England*



land are much firaiter then any that ever we heard of at *Amsterdam*. It is true that of late both in *Old* and *New England* the *Independents* seem much to modify the rigour of their Covenant (*ff*); but whatever may be said of their profession, I never could learne of their practice, to admit any into their society who gave not full assurance of embracing their whole way, and all their differences from the Reformed Churches. Sure I am, they did never admit any upon easier terms then lately I my self did hear Mr *Can* admit a member into his Church at *Amsterdam*; yet if Mr *Prynnes* information be well grounded, they are become at *London* more rigid in their Covenant then ever; he tells us that now it is their custome to make it a part of their Oath to oppugne the Government of the Reformed Churches, and to defend *Independency* with armes and violence, *ff. 2.*

Unto the constitution we may referre the efficient of a Church, and the number of its members; in both the Schollars follow punctually their Masters. As for the efficient, it is not only the *Brownists*, but the *Independents* also who put the power of gathering Churches, and joyning together by Covenant in a Church way, in the hand of private Christians alone, without any Officer, or the authority of any Magistrate. It is presumption in any Minister, if he assay to make up a Church, only people must associate themselves into a Church, and then create their Ministers and other Officers (*gg.*)

In *New England* at the erection of a new Church, they are content with the presence both of the Magistrate and Ministers of the neighbour Churches; but they declare that neither is necessary, and that the presence of either gives no authority to the action, and the absence of both detracts no authority from it (*hh.*) That the whole power to gather a Congregation and to erect a Church is alone in the covenanting persons (*ii.*)

As for the number of the members, the *Independents* go as low as the *Brownists*, avowing that seven persons make a full ministeriall and compleatly organized Church (*kk*): nor do they extend the number any farther then the *Brownists*, avowing that no Church, except the universall, may have any more members then conveniently can meet and be accomodated in one place for the exercise of all holy duties (*ll*), not only preaching of the Word, whereat thousands may be present, but celebration of the Sacraments

They take the power of gathering and erecting of Churches both from Magistrates and Ministers, placing it only in the hands of a few private Christians, who are willing to make among themselves a Church covenant.

This power of erecting themselves into a compleat and perfect church they give to any seven persons, neither admit they more into a Church then can altogether in one place commodiously administer the Sacraments & Discipline.



ments, and administering all parts of Discipline; to which acts a few hundreds cannot commodiously meet.

The *Independents* minde about the gathering and erecting of Congregations, may be clearly perceived by their late practice in the *Sommer Islands*, wherein they are applauded by the Churches of *New England*, and defended by Master *White* against Master *Prynnes Fresh Discovery*, with a great deale of confidence and high language: there hee justifies the necessity of the dissolution of all the Churches in the *Barmudaes* (which yet he professes were among the best of all the English Plantations;) there were above 3000 people in the Isle, who had lived without all controversie with any of their Ministers from their first planting till the year 1641, when their Ministers perswaded by some writs of the Brethren of *New England*, found it necessary to lay down their charges, and become meere private men, denying to administer to their old flocks any Ordinance, till three of them entring in a Covenant, and thereby becoming a new Church, did perswade of the 3000 Islanders some thirty or forty at most to joyn with them in their new Church Covenant; these covenanted persons did chuse one of their old Ministers for their Pastor, and two others of them for Ruling Elders, who as gifted men were content to joyne with the Pastor in preaching, not only to the Church members, but to the whole Isle, to fit them to be Church members; but all the three refused absolutely to celebrate any Sacrament, or administer any Discipline, or do any act of a Pastor to any but to the forty named only. All this Mr *White* maintains as just and necessary, and petitions the Parliament in print for their countenance and approbation, whereby it seems it is the *Independents* avowed and cleare intention when they have power to dissolve and annull all the Churches of *England*; yea of the world, to spoile all Ministers living of their pastorall charge, and all people of all Church priviledges, and to erect new Churches of their own framing, into which they are to admit at most not one of an hundred of those who now do count themselves Christians: all this you may see at length in Mr *Whites* very peremptory Reply to Mr *Prynnes Fresh Discovery*.

Vnto this Church of seven persons they give all and the whole Church power and that independently.

Leaving the constitution, their chiefe Tenets concerne the power of the Congregation, so constitute as is said: in this they come up fully to their Masters side; for they give unto their Church,

Church, that is, their seven covenanted persons, the whole Ecclesiastick power, and that independently upon any person under heaven.

First, they put it in their hands to create all the Officers; they not only give them suffrages in their election, (*mm*) but the whole power of Ordination also (*nn*), the examination of their Pastor in all the abilities requisite for his charge (*oo*), the laying all the parts of his Office upon him, publique prayer, imposition of hands, and what other acts are requisite for a regular Ordination, are all performed by one of the people whom the rest have appointed for that end (*pp*).

As they have power to make all their Officers, so they have power to unmake them, to depose, and excommunicate all their Ministers (*qq*), to cognosce and finally to determine, without any appeal, in all cases, both in life and doctrine, of all Heresies and Scismes, of all Truths and Errours, to order all things belonging to the worship of God, and to do all things else (*rr*), which other Churches ascribe to the most Generall Assemblies of the most learned Divines.

Upon this passage of Power come in the differences which divided the *Brownists* among themselves: whilst *Johnson* would give all these acts of power to the Eldership, and *Ainsworth* would keep them for the Congregation; these same questions vex the *Independents* to this day, and are likely to divide the Children as they did the Fathers.

The most of the New English Divines, with *Ainsworth*, attribute the whole Ecclesiastick power to the body of the people: unto the Eldership they give the preparation of affaires (*ss*), but the judgement and determination of all doth passe by the plurality of the peoples voices (*tt*): the power of the keyes they put in the hand not of the Presbytery, but of the fraternity (*ww*), as they speak. And in some places upon the peoples sense of the Presbyteries encroaching and feare of their farther usurpation, they have thought it expedient to have no Eldership at all, as in *Amsterdam* the *Brownists*, so in *Rotterdam* the *Independents*, for these many yeares have had no ruling Elders, and so no Presbytery (*xx*); but have governed all their affaires by the voices of the people: and why might they not as well live without ruling El-

Vnto this congregational Church alone they give the full power of election and ordination, of deposition and excommunication even of all their officers, and of the final determination of all Ecclesiastick causes.

The difference of *Johnson* and *Ainsworth* about the power of the people and presbytery distinct one from the other, is not yet composed among the *Independents*.

The common Doctrine of New England is *Ainsworths* Tenet, that the people alone have all the power, & may excommunicate when there is cause all their officers.



Mr Cotton the other year did fall much from them and himselfe towards Johnson, that the whole power of authority is only in the Officers, and the people have nothing but the power of liberty to concur; that the Officers can doe nothing without the people, nor the people any thing but by the Officers.

Yet that both officers & people or any one of them have power to separate themselves from all the rest when they find cause.

ders, as their Brethren at *Arnem* for divers yeares did live without a Pastor (yy) the more necessary Officer. Mr Cotton and some others feeling to their small contentment the great and intolerable power of the people over the Eldership, have begun to fall from *Ainsworth* to *Johnson*, and to plead the Authority of the Eldership above the Brotherhood, and the necessity of their subjection by divine right to the Elders as to their Superiours (zz); yet to salve all, and to please both parties, he maketh the concurrence of the Eldership and Brotherhood to be both necessary, to be both *sine quo non* (aaa): whatever Authority he gives to the Eldership, he maketh it all vaine and frustaneous without the consent of the people (bbb): and notwithstanding all the obedience and subjection he putteth upon the people, yet he giveth to them such a power of Liberty, that their concurrence with the Eldership in every act of power is not only necessary but authoritative (ccc).

He goeth yet one step further in case of the obstinate and incorrigible aberration of the Presbytery; he gives power to the people, albeit not to execute any act of power, yet to separate from the obstinate Eldership (ddd), and out of their own number to make new Elders, who will be willing to administer censures, and do all else that they conceive to be right.

For all this, so farre as we can learne, there is yet no full agreement among them, either in *New* or *Old England*, in setting the merch-stones of power betwixt the Eldership and Brotherhood: many Schoole distinctions they use, yet by them all they cannot come to concord. The *Independents* here confesse their agreement with Mr Cotton in the chiefe things wherein he differs from his Brethren in *New England*, and from his owne selfe in his late Book of *the way of the Churches*: they applaud much his new invented distinction of the power of Authority, and the power of Liberty (eee). Yet in other things they avow their dissent from him (fff): what these other things may be, they yet have not had leisure to informe us. I hope it be not the extent of Church power unto women, and the giving of a power to celebrate Sacraments unto private men, which yet are said to be the Tenets of some of their friends.

It is true, the Synod of *New England* maketh not only the fraternity,



ternity, but as they speak, the sorority also to be the subject of the private power of the Keyes of the Kingdom of heaven (g g g); also we have shewen how they have permitted women to be Leaders to their whole Churches, and chiefe Pastors in Church actions of the highest nature: we have good witnesses that a woman was the founder of Mr *Simpsons* Church at *Rotterdam* (h h h); that a woman, and that none of the best, led away Mr *Cotton*, and with him great numbers of the best note in *New England*, towards the vilest errours, and to the brink of a new separation from all the Churches there (i i i). Notwithstanding all this, none of the *Independents*, either in *New England* or *Holland*, neither the *Brownists* of *Amsterdam*, did ever give unto any women any publicke Ecclesiastick power. In this, our *London Independents* exceed all their Brethren, who of late begin to give unto women power of debating in the face of the Congregation, and of determining Ecclesiastick causes by their suffrages, if Doctor *Bastwick* be rightly informed (k k k).

The *London Independents* give more power of Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction then the *Brownists* unto women.

Concerning the power of the Sacraments, Mistris *Chidley* is permitted to print in defence of the Independent cause, without the reproofe of any of that party, so farre as I have heard, that not only Pastors but private men out of all office, may lawfully celebrate both the Sacraments (l l l).

Some of them permit private men to celebrate the Sacraments.

However, in these and other things there may be great difference among them in the point of Church power, yet that which is the principall point in this head of power, the matter of Independency, in it there is a full and perfect agreement among them all. Whatever power, whether of Liberty or Authority, be in the Congregation, organicall, or homogeneous, radically or habitually, in the Brothhood or Eldership, conjunctly or severally; whatever power it be, or wherefover it be, all of them place it in the Congregation, without any subjection to any other Superior (m m m). The word of *Independency*, some of them do much abominate, and yet but some; for there are of their chiefe Leaders this day, who do not mislike it (n n n): but what ever wee speak of the word, the matter which every man did understand by it, is stilly maintayned by them all. In nothing there is greater concord among them then that in the smallest Congregations, even of seven persons, the whole Ecclesiastick power doth reside

*Brownists* and *Independents* do perfectly agree in the point of Independency.

absolutely without any dependence upon or subjection to any or all the creatures on earth (ooo).  
 If a corrupt or negligent *Presbytery* do not censure their own members, all the Assemblies in the world may not attempt to censure any of them, though most apparently they did corrupt a whole Nation with the grossest Heresies or most scandalous vices.

The point of *Independency* is either the root or the fruit of many errors.

Whatever may be sayd of a charitable advice or friendly counsell, or brotherly rebuke, yet if you speak of any authoritative power to censure, all of them avow that the offer of this from all assemblies of a nation, or of the world, is Antichristian Tyranny (ppp): and for any person in the smallest Congregation to receive, or submit themselves to any such censure, were to betray and cast away the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free (qqq). So that it is utterly unlawfull for all the Churches of the World to inflict the least censure, or to give the smallest admonition in order to any censure, not only to any Congregation, but to any one man therein, suppose he were never so erroneous, never so scandalous; although he did infect and destroy, not only all the soules of that Congregation, but as a common pest did corrupt the Churches of a whole Nation, or if it were possible, of the whole World (rrr).

This strange Tenet seemeth to be either the root or the fruit, either the mother or the daughter of all the rest of their errors: the mother and root, because a few persons having locked themselves up within the narrow walls of one Congregation, with an *Independent* power, having made themselves uncontrollable by any or all upon earth; they open a wide doore to any erroneous spirit, to mislead them towards what ever fancy can enter into any cracked braine, without all possibility of any effectuall remedy; the daughter and fruit, because men who are conscious to themselves of singularities, which they feare will not be liked nor tolerated by others, upon their fond love towards these errors, doe affect such a liberty which may exempt them from all danger to bee ordained by any censure to relinquish these darlings, which they have resolved to keep still in their bosome.

To temper the crudity of this Tenet, they adde to it three moderating positions, but for little purpose.

The fatuity of this Tenet they use to season with the graines of three more sapid positions: First, they grant the being of *Classicall Presbyteries* and Synods (sss). Secondly, they ascribe to them the censure of Non-Communion (ttt). Thirdly, they allow the Magistrate to correct Hereticall and Schismaticall persons (www). But if they will consider, they shall finde that in none of those positions, they goe beyond the *Brownists* and by them all they doe



doe not any whit cure the disease of *Independency*.

For the first, they admit not of any *Classicall Presbytery* differing from a Synod; for what ever they speak of their grasping gladly unto us all the degrees and Subordinations of Assemblies which we could wish: yet betwixt a Congregationall Eldership and a Synod, they grant not any interposition of a *Classis*; or compounded *Presbytery* over more Congregations then one (*x x x*), which kinde of *Presbytery* the Reformed Churches make the first and ordinary subject of Ordination, and of sundry acts of Jurisdiction: esteeming it a Iudicatory specifically different both from the inferiour Eldership of a single Congregation and the Superiour Synod, whither of a Shire or a Province, or a Nation, or of more, or of all Nations.

They grant the being of Synods, but not of *Classicall Presbyteries*.

Besides, that Synod whereof they approve, is only a *Brownist* one such as needeth not to be moderated by any Teacher (*y y y*); at the which any man who pleaseth may be present to debate, and vote decisively (*z z z*). Yea, they goe here much beyond the *Brownists* and their Brethren of *New-England* also; for they deny that the 15 of the *Acts*, is either a pattern or ground for any Synod (*aaaa*), expressly contrary to Mr *Cottons* latest Doctrine; neither will they have any ordinary or set Synods, but only occasional, and when the occasion of a Synod commeth, they will have it to be meereley elective (*bbbb 1.*): consisting of such persons alone as themselves please to chuse, not only of the Churches of their own *Independent* way alone, but also of such only among these as themselves think meet to pitch upon (*bbbb 2.*): if a *Classis* or Synod bee of any other temper, they count it so corrupt and so tyrannicall a Court, that they could not countenance it with their presence; yea, not so much as they would doe an *Episcopall* Sea (*cccc*): the one being much worse then the other: that the *Brownists* *Independency* went ever thus farre I doe not know.

Their Synods are meereley *Brownist* without all Jurisdiction, wherein every one of the people may vote; also meereley elective and only occasional.

As for their sentence of Non-Communion, it is one of Mr *Cottons* new additions to old *Brownisme* (*dddd*); which it seemes rather to embitter then sweeten; for it is a meere humane invention to supply the ordinances of God, which men injuriously have cast away: when they have denied to Synods the power of these censures which God hath appointed; and finde themselves straightned by the absolute necessity of the matter, to take up a

The sentence of Non-Communion, is Mr *Cottons* invention to supply that defect which themselves make in the Ordinances of God.

gaine



gaine either them or their equivalent: they will not be so changeable as to resume the censures whereof God is the Author, having once cast them away: but in their place they are forced to finde out some of their own, these their new declarations and abstentions from fellowship and such like new censures of their owne.

It puts in the hand of every man a power to sentence all the Churches of the world.

But which is worst of all, these their new censures if there be any force in them, advance their *Independency* to the highest degree of power: or rather lift it up highly in the aire, and by a repugnancy and contradiction, make it evaporate to nothing; for this Non-Communion giveth power to every one, even the smallest Congregation, over all the Churches in the World is pleaseth to deale with, so farre as to admonish, rebuke, declare against them all, and cast them all out of her Communion (ccc). The Reformed Churches contend only for a power to a great Assemb'y, for censuring a faulty member of a small Congregation; but this Non-Communion gives to the smallest Congregation of any seven persons, the power of sentencing the whole Churches and all the Assemblies in the World.

Howbeit, this Non-Communion, seemes to be contradictory and destructive of that *Independency* which it was invented to save: For if every Congregation bee *Independent*, how shall all Congregations be so dependent upon every one, that any the least may inflict this high censure upon the greatest, yea upon all.

It carries to the highest degree of Separation.

Beside, this Non-Communion is nothing but the highest straine of separation that ever any *Brownist* aimed at; it giveth a power for any Church to deny Communion to all Churches, and to live separate without all Communion with any Church for ever.

This produceth an other power of a farther separation, to wit, a power to every member of that separate Church upon any grievance not satisfied to separate himselfe, and either live there alone as many do, or to gather a new Church, of any whom they finde willing to associate with them: these things are brought not so much for reasons to evert the positions in hand; as to shew how unfit limitations they are of the extravagancy which appeareth in *Independency*, and how much they runne out beyond the bounds which they pretend to hem in.

As

As for their third Tenet of the Magistrates concurrence, to second their sentence of Non Communion, besides that the *Brownists* goe as farre as ever any of them did in this (ffff): we see now that the chiefe of them have recalled the Tenet: though all the Protestant Churches, and none more then they of *New-England*, doe maintaine the Magistrates power to suppress errors; yet this unhappy love towards liberty, wherein the *Independent* party here among us have lately fallen, makes them to entreat the Magistrate to let alone the affaires of Religion, though they runne into all the confusion whither Satan and his Instruments are able to carry them (gggg). If the Magistrates feare of God doth stop his eare to such impious petitions, then they flee up very high even to the deniall and decrying of all the Magistrates power in matters of Religion (hhhh); which yet the Papists in *England* and the *Arminians* in *Holland*, who have been the greatest pleaders hitherto for liberty, were never bold to impugne; but of this more hereafter.

Their supply of the defects of *Independency* by the power of the Magistrate, was a remedy which they learned from the *Brownists*, but now they have cast it aside, denying to the Magistrate all power in matters of Religion.

I hope I have demonstrated that in the point of Separation and of the constitution and government of the Church, the great and only intended Articles of the *Brownists*, our brethren the *Independents* come nothing behind them: Sure, in these their conceits they applaud themselves no lesse then the former; they put in these things the very Kingdome of Christ: all their opposites, in these fancies, they make them enemies to Christs Kingdome (iiii): they avow *Independency* to be a beginning, and a part of that glorious Kingdome which Christ for a thousand yeares is to enjoy upon earth (kkkk).

The *Independents* doe advance their fancies to as high a pitch of glory as the *Brownists*.

Concerning the worship of God and other heads of Divinity, whatever crotchets the *Brownists* have fallen into, the *Independents* punctually doe follow the most and worst of them: and if in any they come short, they are sure to exceed in other things more dangerous.

They are the *Brownists* scholars in many more things beside the Constitution and Government of the Church.

First, for the marriage blessing, they applaud the *Brownists* Doctrine, they send it from the Church to the Town-house, making its solemnization the duty of the Magistrate (lll); this is the constant practice of all in *New-England*: the prime of the *Independent* Ministers now at *London*, have been married by the Magistrate, and all that can bee obtained of any of them, is to be content that

They give to the Magistrate the Celebration of marriage.



that a Minister in the name of the Magistrate and as his Commissioner may solemnize that holy band.

Mr *Milton* permits any man to put away his wife upon his meer pleasure, without fault and without the cognisance of any Iudge. Concerning Divorces, some of them goe farre beyond any of the *Brownists*, not to speak of Mr *Milton*, who in a large Treatise hath pleaded for a full liberty for any man to put away his wife, when ever hee pleaseth, without any fault in her at all, but for any dislike or dyspathy of humour (mmmm); for I doe not know certainly whither this man professeth *Independency* (albeit all the Hereticks here, whereof ever I heard, avow themselves

*Independents*); what ever therefore may be said of Mr *Milton*, yet Mr *Gorting* and his Company were men of renown among the *New-English Independents*, before Mistrisse *Hutchinsons* disgrace: and all of them do maintaine, that it is lawfull for every woman to desert her husband, when he is not willing to follow her in her Church way, and to take her selfe for a widow, loosed from the bond of obedience to him, only because he lives without that Church whereof she is become a member (nnnn).

Concerning the circumstances of the worship of God, they will have nothing determined, but all which Scripture hath not determined, to be left so free, that all Directories are much against their stomacks. How much they did crosse that gracious and excellent work of the Directory for the three Kingdoms, and when it was begunne, how long they did retard it; and after it was brought to an end, through all the mountaines of impediments which they did cast up in its way; how earnest they were by slight of hand to have put in its Preface such phrases as might have altogether made frustrate the use of it, is well known to many: yea, when a Directory for the three Nations is established by the Assemblies and Parliaments of both Kingdoms, they are bold so farre to slight it, as to write unto the very Parliament, that uniformity is but a matter of forme, in the which for peace sake men will come up so farre as conscience can permit, intimating that all our covenanted uniformity must be resolved into the free-will or erroneous conscience of every private man.

The common names of the dayes of the week, the months of the year, of many Churches and Cities of the Land, are as unlawfull to them as to the *Brownists*.

In the abolishing of the monuments of Idolatry, they agree so farre with the *Brownists*, that they will not name the dayes of the week, the months of the yeare, the places of meeting after the ordinary manner (oooo); yet they make no scruple to use the



the Churches builded in the time of Popery, nor of Bels though invented by a Pope, and baptized with all the Popish Superstitions; how this doth stand with their principles, I doe not well know, especially with their practice about another circumstance, the Church-maintenance.

For, the ancient way of maintenance by Tythes, or Lands, or set Stipends, they do refuse, (p p p p) and require here the reduction of the Apostolique practice. They count it necessary that all the Church Officers should live upon the charge of the Congregation, the Ruling Elders and Deacons as well as the Pastors and Doctors (q q q q); but all they will have them to receive, is a meer Almes, a voluntary Contribution, layd down as an offering at the Deacons feet every Lords Day, and by him distributed to all the Officers and the poore of the Congregation according as they have need (r r r r). This is their Doctrin, but it seemes they are weary long ago of its practice. The *Brownists* (as I heare) are yet constant to practise what they teach, allowing their Ministers for their better supply, and that they may not be too burthensom to the Congregation, the use of handy Trades. but the *Independents* of *New-England* have a better provision, not only a proportion of Land, but a certayn Tax of money layd on by the Magistrate, both upon the members of the Congregation, and upon all the neighbours, though not received members of any Church. (s s s s) These also of *London*, *Arnheim*, and *Rotterdam*, have been famous for a sufficient care of a set provision, above the ordinary, to the rate of two or three hundred pounds a year (t t t t.) And lest their Income should decrease with too large deduction for the supply of the poore, it hath been their providence to admit none or few poore members of their Congregations (w w w w.)

Concerning other circumstances, the form of their Church, and Pulpit, and such like, I have not observed any difference in the Meeting-houses of the one at *Rotterdam*, and the other at *Amsterdam*.

For the parts of the worship, as I take it, there is little difference; only the *Independents* seem in their administration more to vary the persons; sometimes they make one to pray, and another to preach, a third to prophesie, and a fourth to dismiss with a blessing (x x x x).

All tithes and set maintenance of Ministers they cry down; but a voluntary contribution for the maintenance of all their Officers, they presse to a high proportion, with the evident prejudice of the poore.

In their solemn worship oft times they make one to pray, another to preach, a third to prophesie, a fourth to direct the Psalm, and another to bless the people.

They make it a divine institution, without any word of preface, to begin the public worship with solemn prayer for the King and Church.

In the ordering of the parts of their worship after Mr Cottons invention, they take it for an Apostolick injunction, to begin first of all with a large solemn Prayer for the King and the Church, applying the words of the Apostle against the cleare scope of the Text, and all the writers which I have consulted upon it, to this very method of the ordinances, and to this matter of the first Prayer (yyyy).

After the Pastors prayer the Doctor reads and expounds.

After the Prayer the Doctor proceeds to read and expound: their ordinary practice here agrees with the other, but their Doctrine differeth; for the *Independents* at *London* grant, that reading by it selfe without exposition, is a divine Ordinance, however in their practice they conjoyne both.

In preaching they will be free to take a Text or not, as they find it expedient.

In preaching they differ from the *Brownists* and us, and joyn with the Popish Monks; they will not be tyed to a Text of Scripture, for the ground of their discourse, but will be at liberty to run out on whatsoever matter they think most fit and expedient for their hearers (zzzz).

After Sermon any of the people whom they think ab'e, are permitted to prophesie.

About prophesying after Sermon, they are at a full agreement, permitting to any private man of the flock, or to any stranger whom they take to be gifted, publikly to expound and apply the Scripture, to pray and to blesse the people. They permit two or three of these after the end of the Sermon to exercise their gifts (aaaa).

All are permitted to propound in the face of the Congregation what questions upon the Sermon they think meet.

When the exercise of the Prophets is ended, they use another Ordinance of questioning the Preachers and Prophets by any member of the Congregation, about any point of the Doctrine (bbbbbb); but this exercise, as also the former, hath proved so unhappy in *New England*, that gladly there they would be quit of both (cccccc).

About the Psalms they have divers strange conceits;

In the Psalms the *Independents* wander wider then their Teachers; some of them will have no songs in the time of publique Iudgements (ddddd): others will not permit women to sing in the Church (eeeeee); but the greatest difference is, that the *Independents* of *Arnheim* did stop the mouthes of all but one, who speciall is their new Ordinance of a singing Prophet, who in place of the Psalms singeth Hymnes of his own making in the midst of the silent Congregation.

did sing the Hymne which himselfe had composed, in the midst of the Congregation for their edification (fffff).

In Prayer they fall short of their masters; for however they use no set Prayer, yet they are so farre from esteeming of it Idolatry, that they professe both set and read Prayer to be lawfull (ggggg): The Lords Prayer they commend to be said even in publike, and they permit private men to read prayer in their families (hhhhh); in this they have Mr *Robinson* for their guide; yet at *London* their practice is constantly to forget the Lords Prayer.

In the Sacrament of Baptism the *Independents* lay a path-way to Anabaptism; for first they come close up to the most rigid *Brownists*, denying Baptism to the most part of Christian Infants; yet they will grant it to a very few; to these alone whose immediate parents are members of their Congregation (iiii), who are a wonderfull poor handfull: all other Infants they will have unbaptized till they come to the yeares of understanding, and declare not only their actuall faith and holinesse, but their subjection to the Kingdom of Christ, that is to their Independency: they will have no stipulation made for the Infants education; they dispute much for dipping, though they deny not the lawfulnessse of sprinkling (kkkkk).

But that which maketh men most afraid for their Anabaptism, is their open deserting all the Reformed Churches, and the *Brownists* themselves, in three grounds.

First, they deny the federall holinesse of Christian children; against this *Tho. Goodwin* did preach, and deny openly that common distinction of Protestants of reall and federall holinesse, requiring in every Infant to be baptized a reall and inherent sanctity. If this ground be maintained, I see not how Anabaptism, or else Arminianism, will be avoyded; for if this reall holinesse above federall, be the great ground of Baptism, and this cannot be asserted in the judgement of verity of any Infant; for whatever we say of the judgement of charity, yet in the judgement of truth, and with the certainty of faith wherewith we must assent to every Scripture, who can say that any particular Infant is holy, and so that any Infant should be baptized? or if we can say in the judgement of truth, that every baptized Infant is really sanctified, as

They grant the lawfulnessse of read prayer in divers cases.

They will have none to be baptized, but the children of their owne members; so that one dath they put all *England* except a very few of their way, into the state of *Pagans* turning them all out of the Christian Church, denying to them Sacraments, Discipline, Church-Officers, and all that they would deny to the *Pagans* of *America*.

They open a door to Antebaptism by 3 farther positions.

1. They require in all to be baptized a real holiness above a federall, which in no Infant with any certainty can be found.



it seems Mr *Robinson* hath taught Mr *Goodwin*, if Mr *Rathband* understand right the 309 p. of *Rob.* justification (kkkkk 2), the Arminians have wonne the field; for no man doubts but many baptized Infants, even in their way, do fall away totally and finally from whatsoever holinesse can be supposed to be in them. If these inextricable difficulties did move Mr *Goodwin* to stop the Presse that it went not on with his Sermons against the Anabaptists, himselfe doth know.

2. They esteem none for their Baptism and Christian education a member of their Church, till they have entered themselves in their church covenant.

Secondly, they esteem not baptized Infants to be members of their Church before they have entred into their Covenant; till then they hold them from the Lords Table and all the acts of Discipline, as people without the Church and not members of it (lllll): If it be so, their Baptism was of so small use that well they might have wanted it to the time of their admission to be members.

3. They call none of their members to any account before their Presbytery for obstinate rejecting of Pædo-baptism, although the *Brownists* doe excommunicate for that sinne.

Thirdly, they account Anabaptism a very tolerable error; so farre as ever we heard to this day, they did never so much as rebuke any of their members for it, much contrary to the practice of the *Brownists*, and of their Brethren in *New England*, who ever have removed the Anabaptists from their Churches, as Sectaries of a speciall evill note. We have long observed the great affection of *Independents* here towards them who professed opposition to Pædo-Baptism, but did never expect to have heard them declare any thing towards the Arminian errors of the Anabaptists.

The Lords Supper they desire to celebrate at night after all other Ordinances are ended (mmmm); albeit the *Brownists* now take it in the forenoon.

They participate with none of the Reformed Churches in the Lords Supper, yet they scruple not to communicate with *Brownists* and Anabaptists.

In the persons who do communicate, they are as strict as any of the *Brownists*; for notwithstanding all that their Brethren of *New England*, and themselves also, and their Apology do professe, of their communicating of the Sacrament with the rest of the Reformed Churches, which sometimes also is the *Brownists* profession; yet it is told them without reply to this day, that in *London*, however they have admitted *Brownists* and Anabaptists to their Sacrament, and they have communicated in the *Brownists* Congregations (nnnnn); yet that none of them have ever offered to participate of the holy Communion in any other Congregation, nor have admitted any to communicate with them.

them who were not of their owne way (ooooo).

For the manner of their celebration, they who have seen it, professe it to be in a very dead and comfortlesse way : it is not as in *New England*, once in the month, but as at *Amsterdam*; once every Lords day (ppppp), which makes the action much lesse solemn then in any other of the Reformed Churches, and in this too much like the daily Masses of the Church of *Rome*.

Their way of celebrating the Lords Supper is more dead and comfortlesse then any where else.

They have no Catechising, no preparati- on, nor thank- giving sermons, ordinarily they speak no word of the Sacra- ment in their Sermons and prayers either before or after.

They have no preparation of their flock before : they are so happy as to have all their members prepared alwayes sufficiently for the Lords Table, from their first entrance into their Church to their dying day ; for all this time there is no catechising among them, this exercise is below their condition, & altogether needlesse in any of their Congregations. They will have no Sermon in the week before, nor so much as any warning of the Communion. This practice of *New England*, to give warning the Sabbath be- fore, is disliked now at *London* : nor must there be any Sermon of Thanksgiving after that Sacrament : They use not so much as a little application of the Doctrine in the Sermon before it to that occasion (qqqqq).

They have on- ly a little dis- course & short prayer in the consecration of both the E- lements; there after in the acti on nothing but dumb silence, no exhortati- on, no reading, no Psalme.

When they come to the action, there is no more but one little discourse, and one short prayer of the Minister ; all the time of the participation, there is nothing in the Congregation but a dumb silence: no reading, no exhortation, no Psalmes, their people need no such meanes to furnish them in their Sacramentall meditations; they have also learned from the *Brownists*, a double and distinct consecration, one for every element apart.

They have another difference from all the Reformed, and in a part also from their Brethren of *New-England*.

That their Conformity with the *Brownists* may bee full, the *New-English* doe count sitting at a Table, not only to bee ne- cessary, but to be a part of our imitation of Christ, and a Rite significant of divers heavenly Priviledges and Comforts (rrrrr); but as the *Brownists* at *Amsterdam* this day have no Table at all, as they send the Elements from the Pulpit (the place where the Minister preacheth, and celebrateth the Sacrament) by the hand of the Deacon to all the Congregation, where in their meeting house they sit up and down in their severall places : So the *Independents* at *London*, doe vehemently contend for the needlesnesse of any

They require none of their members to come out of their Pews to the Table.

And they 'ac- knowledge no more use of a Table then the *Brownists* at *Amsterdam* who have none to at all,

to come to the Table, what ever be the practice of all the rest of the Reformed Churches : But they will have the holy Seales carried from the place where the Minister preaches to the people in their Pews, or where ever else they have their ordinary places for hearing of the Word ; although most easily in their small Congregations without any disturbance all might bee brought to the Table (/////).

They teach the expediency of covering the head at the Lords Table.

But their maine difference from all the Reformed, and greatest consonancy with the *Brownists*, is in this, that as they teach all outward signes of Worship in the time of the Celebration to be Idolatry, and hereupon declare the necessity of all men who will follow the example of the first Communicants, to keep on their Hats, all the time of this holy action ; so likewise the *Independents* begin to teach their disciples ; for however at *Amsterdam* this day the named Doctrine bee not fully practised, the men there covering their heads in the time of the Celebration ; but every one uncovering, during the time of their own personall participation of the Elements ; yet we are now taught at *London* that covering is most requisite at the time of participation. That this act is a Rite significant to the Communicants of their Table-honor, and fellowship with Christ, also that the Minister in all his Celebration must be uncovered, and that in sign of his service to the Communicants, as the Lords much honoured children, sitting covered when they eat of their Fathers meat (ttttt).

They are as much for the popular Government as the *Brownists*.

After all the Worship is ended, the Congregation may not yet be dismissed, but one ordinance more in the end of the day must be attended, the exercise of Discipline ; in this the *Independents* come up fully to their masters ; the whole people must be present to heare, judge, and voyce at every act of Discipline (wwwww).

In any Congregation the acts of discipline, when best managed, are very tedious and long, but with them more then anywhere else ; for their contentions are more and more tough, as we may see in the best ruled Congregations that ever they had ; That of *Arnheim* and *Roterdam* : if the praise given by the Apologists to them be just ; there the exercise of discipline hath bin very tedious : the whole Congregation to their extreme wearinesse and fretting, have been forced to lay aside the works of their ordinary calling for many dayes of the week, to attend the *Indging* of these causes which



which on the Sabbath dayes could not be ended (xxxxx).

In the Cognition of these causes, every member of the Congregation must be satisfied in his own minde concerning every passage of every action; for they doe not proceed by the plurality of numbred voyces, but with the harmonious consent of all who have right to voyce (yyyyy).

And if it fall out that any doe dissent from the most, they appoint in that case paines to be taken for the information of the dissenters that they may consent; but if these paines prove fruitlesse, and the Dissenters refuse to joyn with their brethren, they are declared obstinate, and to have lost the right of voycing for that time (zzzzz). Yea, which is worst of all, and which puts these Congregations upon the smallest occasions upon unavoidable and remedlesse divisions, they appoint all who continue in their dissent in any matter of weight, to be farther proceeded with for their contumacy (aaaaa).

The publike meetings of the *Brownists* are so long and tedious, that we doe not heare of their stomack for any private; but the *Independents* are yet for private meetings; how long they will be in love with them, we cannot say; for in *New-England* where they were most in request, their fruits have been very bitter; these meetings of a middle sort betwixt Congregationall and Domestick, were the occasion very neere to ruine both that Church and State; for in these it was where under the pretence of religious conference, and repetition of Sermons, false doctrine and wicked calumnies against the most Orthodox of the Ministers and Magistrates, were spread for the renting and (had not God prevented it) the destroying of the State both Civill and Ecclesiastick (bbbbbb).

For the present, where they are in gathering of their Congregations, these meetings in private houses (of all who will) are a very pregnant meanes to steale away men and women from their own Pastors; but if once their gathering of Churches were at an end, and their greatest care were for the keeping and edifying of what they had gotten, it is like that then they would be as cautious as now all other Churches are, even the *Brownists* and these of *New-England*, of such meetings which except well moderated and limited, under faire pretences, are exceeding fit to make new divisions

All Discipline must be executed in the presence and with the consent of the whole people, & all must passe by the expresse suffrage of every one.

Dissenters not only lose their right of suffrage for the time, but are subjected to censure if they continue in their dissent.

They are much for private meetings, for it is in them that they usually frame the members of other mens Congregations into their new mould, but the *Brownists* and they of *New-England* having felt the bitter fruits of such meetings, have relinquished, if not discharged them.

visions, and ever to frame new Societies of some, as it were, more select and eminent Christians out of the common Congregation.

They flatter  
the Magistrate  
and slander  
the Reformed  
Churches  
without cause.

Concerning the Magistrate, the Tenets of the *Independents* would be well considered, because of their open proclamation of their loyalty beyond and above all which the principles of any Reformed Church will permit them (cccccc).

Had they magnified never so much their own vertues, without the expresse disparagement of others; had they put in the ballance with themselves an equall or a double number of the greatest men in any of the Reformed Churches, who yet would be very ponderous when they lie in the Scales against five particular men the Authors of that comparison, had they preferred themselves before all the Reformed Churches, in a casual & contingent action, not in a maine duty, which their very principles are alledged to diminish; had they whispered all this in the eares of their friends, and not made a Proclamation of it to be in the Houses of Parliament, and that in print to be trumpeted out in the eares of all the world; it might have been past over with the lesse either observation or offence: But since in so publike a manner they have required the Magistrate to believe their great deferences to him and the smaller respect he can expect from any out of their way: it seemeth very necessary to produce, not these particular respects which the Reformed Churches professe, according to their principles to give unto the Magistrate & continually have given according to their professions (for these are well known to the world long before any of our new Censors were in being) but what these singular duties may be, which the *Independents* above all other men by their principles are forced to performe to Magistrates, while they may be at leisure to publish them to the world, I will here present unto them the materials of some few short observations for that purpose.

Some of them  
are for the a-  
bolition of all  
Magistracy.

First, that divers of their party, and those of very eminent note, though miscarrying in other things, yet keeping fast to the way of *Independency*, have denyed to the Magistrate all power over any of the Godly (dddddd).

And others of them with the grossest *Anabaptists* have denyed the lawfulnessse of any Magistrate at all (cccccc).

Second'y,

Secondly, doe not their principles hold out of the Church, and deprive of all Christian consolation which flowes from any Church priviledge, the farre greater part, if not absolutely all Kings, and Princes that are this day in the Christian world, and have been since the dayes of the Gospel, or ever are likely to be upon earth to the worldsend? how exceeding few of all that are, or have been Members of Parliament of either House, of all that have been or are Magistrates in *England*, if their principles might be put in practice, would be admitted to the Lords Table, or yet their children be baptised, or themselves be reputed Christians and Members of any lawfull Church?

All of them are for casting out and keeping out of the Christian Church all Princes, all Members of Parliament, all Magistrates of the Counties & Burroughes that now are, and that ever have been and are ever like to be hereafter, except a very few.

Thirdly, of these exceeding few Kings, Princes, Peeres, Commoners and Magistrates of the Land, which they could take into their Congregations; how many could have assurance to live any long time in a Christian condition as Members of a Church according to their principles? Since they tell us that they are to Excommunicate without any delay, the greatest Kings for any fault either in beliefe or life, which doth subject the poorest servants to censure; how many and frequent these faults may be, it is hard to judge; but the worst is, when the greatest Kings and the chiefe Members of Parliament without any respect to their dignity, are cast out of the Church for themselves and their children, by the peevishnesse or error or malice of a few in a small Congregation, they have no meanes under heaven to redresse themselves of their injury; they and theirs must live as Pagans out of the Church, till they who did cast them out, be perswaded and become willing to take them in; should all the Divines, all the Assemblies, all the Churches of their Dominions, see clearly as the light their notorious wrong; yet there were no possibility to helpe it by any mortall hand, till the injurious Congregation it selfe, of its own accord, should be pleased to repaire it.

These few Magistrates whom they would admit, have no security, but by the error or malice of a few; to be quickly cast out of the Church without any possibility of remedy.

Fourthly, they permit none to be Magistrates where they have power, nor so much as to be a member of their smallest civill Courts, except they be fully for their way, and be admitted members of their Church, as it hath ever been their practice in *New-England* to this day; but the Magistrates they admit of, who are of their minde, they debase their power so low as to suspend it all on the will and pleasure of the promiscuous multitude, not

When they have put all out of the places of Magistracy, yea out of all civill courts who are not of their mind, the greatest Magi-



Magistrates they only to limit the Sovereignty of Princes within the bounds of their just Lawes, and to confine them into the Counsell of their Parliaments, but to bring both them and Parliaments and all Magistrates to their first originall and Makers, to the free will of these whom they use to stile the prophane multitude (ffffff).

Fifthly, have any of the Reformed Churches now for an hundred yeares and above, given to Magistrates such occasion to feare an unjust insurrection, as they in the few yeares of their being have already furnished?

To passe by all their threatnings in this time of confusion (gggggg) (while their strength is yet inconsiderable) and their mighty endeavours to get Armes into their hand to enable themselves with the evident hazard of the whole Isle, to doe what they please by force (hhhhhh).

Let men only look over to the fruits of their principles in *New-England*; not many yeares agoe there, upon a very small, and so farre as I know very groundlesse suspicion, to have somewhat of their Government altered by the King contrary to their Patent, they did quickly purchase and distribute Armes among all their people, and exact of every one an Oath for the defence of their Patent against all impugnors whosoever; Mr *Williams* opposition to this Oath as he alledged, was the cheite cause of his banishment (iiiiii).

What principles could these be, that moved the same people a little after to doe and say such things for which their Magistrates did disarme so many of their Church members, not only elsewhere, but even at *Boston*, upon fear of an apparent insurrection for the killing of the principall Magistrates, and overturning the whole State of that Countrey (kkkkkkk 1.)

Few Magistrates will hereafter confide in these principles which saved not the Governour and generall Court of *New-England*, from extreme danger by the members of Mr *Cottons* Congregation at *New Boston*.

Many of them deny to the Magistrate any power at all in the matters of Religion. Sixthly, doe the *Independents* principles give to the Magistrate any Ecclesiastick power at all? will they submit to his civill power in any Ecclesiastick affaires? will they be hindered by the Magistrates sentence, unlesse it be executed with violence, to erect Congregations.

gregations within his Dominions at their own pleasure? will their principles permit them upon the command of King and Parliament, to refuse to take into their Congregations the members of other Parish Churches without a dismission, or take and admit upon the Magistrates command within their number, any whom they account unfit for membership, or to recall for the Magistrates pleasure any of their Church censures? have they not very lately declared to the Parliament, that they esteem all matters of Religion free and exempt from their sword and power? That all matters both of worship and doctrine, that all things of the mind as they speak, or matters of opinion, and all matters of outward forme wherein uniformity is required according to our Covenant, are so farre to be ruled by every mans own conscience, his own light and reason, that the Parliament is not in any such matters to interpose their power? whither this bee the true sence of their openly avowed and repeated letters to the Parliament it selfe, let every intelligent man consider who reads the words (kkkkkk 2).

Seventhly, are any of the Reformed Churches, or any Churches or persons of the whole world, so injurious to Magistrates as their principles force them to be, who spoyle Christian Kings and Parliaments of their whole Legislative power? they will have us to beleieve, as good Divinity, that it is not only unlawfull for Church-assemblies to make Ecclesiastick Canons, but that it is alike unlawfull for any Prince or State to make a Civill Law, (lllllll)

That the placing of a Legislative power in Kings or Parliaments, is to usurp the property and prerogative of God. (mmmmmm 1)

These Principles cannot be very favourable to the State, which at one stroke annihilate all the Acts of Parliament that now are in force, either in this or any other Kingdom, and make it impossible (if they were beleaved) to have any more in any place of the earth, to the worlds end. Look back upon what I have cited from the chiefe of the *Brownists* writings. I grant the *New English* polishers of *Brownism* doe not expresse their Tenets in terms so hugely grosse; yet see how neare they come to them in substance, when they tell us that no Magistrate may make any Lawes about the Bodies, Lands, Goods, Liberties of the Subject, which are not according to the Lawes and Rules of Scripture, Scripture being

Their principles do spoile Princes and Parliaments of their whole Legislative power; they abolish all humane Lawes that are made, and hinder any more to be made.

given to men for a perfect rule, as well in matters of Civill Justice, as of devotion and holinesse (mmmmmm 2); and if so, then they must make it as unlawfull and contrary to the Scriptures perfection, for any man to make Lawes in matters of Righteousnesse and of the State, as in matters of Holinesse and of the Church.

The Civill Lawes which Mr Cotton permits men to make, binde no man any further then his own minde is led by the reason of the Law to obedience. That beside things in themselves good or evill, which Scripture determines by its Lawes expressely, things of an indifferent nature, whereupon the most of civill Lawes are made, must be regulated according to the Scripture rules of Piety, Charity, and Conscience, so farre that the expediency and reason of the Law must ever carry and convince the conscience of the Subject: that no man is obliged to the obedience of a civill Law in a thing never so indifferent by the authority of the Law-giver, but every man whose conscience is not convinced of the piety and charity of that Law, is free from all obedience and subjection thereto: Thus farre Mr Cotton (mmmmmm 3.)

They put the yoke of the judicall Law of Moses on the neck of the Magistrate. Eightly, what men besides them have made so bold with Kings and Parliaments, as not only to break in pieces their old Lawes, and to divest them of all power to make new ones; but also under the pretext of a divine right, to put upon their necks that unsupportable yoke of the Iudicall Law of the Lawes, for peace and for warre, without any power to dispence either in addition or subtraction (nnnnnn 1)? I grant this principle of Barrow is limited by Mr Cotton to such Iudicials as do containe in them a morall equity (nnnnnn 2); but this morall equity is extended by him to so many particulars, as Williams confesses the whole Iudicall Law to be brought back again thereby, no lesse then by the plaine simple and unlimited Tenet of the rigidest Brownists (nnnnnn 3.)

They give to their Ministers a power to sit in civill Courts, & to voyce in the Election of the Magistrates, and to draw from Scripture Civill Lawes for the government of the State. Ninthly, doth any Reformed Church appoint their Ministers to be members of the highest civill Courts, with power of voicing in the election of the supream Magistrate? (oooooo) Do any Divines but theirs, since the Bishops were abolished, joyne themselves as companions with the Magistrates, to draw out of Scripture a body of civill Lawes for the Government of the State? (pppppp.)



Tenthly, did ever any Divines but theirs, so evidently mock the Magistrate, by instructing him according to their own interest, as it were from heaven, to contradictory practises, in *New-England* where the Magistrate is in their way, to perswade him the necessity under paine of sinne and judgement, to kill all Idolaters, and false Prophets, to destroy whole Cities, men, women, and children, who are seduced by a false Prophet (999999)?

They offer to perswade the Magistrate contradictory principles, according to their own interest.

Making a path-way by this meanes to the slaughter, not only of all Papists and Hereticall Sects, but also of many good Protestants, who to the *Brownists* are Idolaters for the reading of Prayer, and obstinate enemies of the Kingdom of Christ for their dislike of Independency, according to the open profession of the prime *Independents* (rrrrrrr.)

In *New-England* they perswade the Magistrate to kill all Idolaters and Hereticks, even whole Cities, men, women, and children.

Their Doctrine in *Old-England*, where the Magistrate is out of their way, is diametrically opposite to this: for here they make it a Theomachy (ssssss), a fighting with God to deny a free liberty to Papists, to the worst Heresies and Schisms, to Judaism, Turcism, Paganism, or if any error can be imagined to be more pernicious. I beleeve that few prudent Magistrates, when they have well ruminated these and the like principles of the *Independents*, will esteeme them much more conducive for their ends, then the principles of the Reformed Churches.

But here they deny the Magistrate all power to lay the least restraint upon the grossest Idolaters, Apostats, Blasphemers, Seducers or the greatest enemies of Religion.

In the point of Schools and Learning, how farre they will follow the *Brownists*, I cannot say: divers of them have as good a share in learning as their neighbours; yet whatever they have of that kinde, they got it all before they entred into their new way, and whatever learning all of them do possesse, it is no more then what was among the *Brownists*, when they did most cry down learning. The most of their erudition this day dwells in *New-England*, that any reall course hath ever there been taken for its entertainment and propagation, I have not heard much; though the Magistrate and the whole Land have beene and are at their Devotion; and till of late they had no apparant hope of supplying their way from the Schools of other parts of the world.

No great appearance of their respect to secular learning and Schools.

Were we not weary, we might go on yet farther in the parallel, especially in the doctrinall Tenets of the *Independents*, where in already they have gone farre beyond the *Brownists*; you had a

*Independency* much more dangerous then *Brownism*

rough

touch of the Arminianism of some in the reall Sanctification of all baptised Infants ; of the enthusiasms of others in their contemplations of God without Scripture ; of the Libertinism of a third, blaspheming God as the Authour of the sinfulness of sin : of the Arminian reprobation, the Antinomian, Montanistick and Familistick Tenets of a fourth ; for which I doubt if to this day they have given any satisfaction. The whole City hath been filled these many yeares with the noise of the Socinianism of the fifth ; many of them are passionate for a full liberty of all Religions in every State. The Apologists declare, that they will have none cast out of the Church for any errors which are not fundamentall ; and how farre they will extend this principle, who can know ? only it would seem that all the named errors which do lodge or have lodged, as is alledged, in their prime Leaders, without any censure to this day, must be taken within the compasse of errors tolerable, not only in the State, but in the purest Churches.

And if Arminian, Socinian, Anabaptistick, Antinomian, Familistick, Enthusiastick errors be declared not fundamentall, and tolerable in a Church, what shall we say of Prelaticall, Cassandrian and the most of the Popish Tenets that are no wayes so grosse ? *Spalato* and others have been at great paines to prove that none of all the Popish errors are fundamentall. The Remonstrant Apologists labour to free the greatest Heresies that ever were in the Church, such as Arrianism of old, and Vorstianism of late, from that infamy. Certainly, though our Brethren had kept in their principle of change, and not declared their full resolution to go on farther then themselves or others have yet thought : what already they have positively delivered, giveth to the world just reason of doubt whither they may go, and where at last they will stop their very swift and volant progresse.

### The Testimonies of the sixth Chapter.

- (a) **A** Ntap. p. 243. *It was agreed upon, that they out of hand should bring in a Narrative of their opinions wherein they differed from us, and then should joyne with us in preaching against the Brownists and Anabaptists ; they never brought in their Narrative*

narrative untill this day, and though at full meetings of the Ministers, they have been spoken unto, and some Ministers have been sent from the Company to some of them, and the Narrative was promised at such a time, and then at such a time yet it was never performed; and whereas the agreement in writing for our side, was left in Mr Calamies hand, Mr Nye comes after some time to Mr Calamy, and pretends some reasons to borrow it for awhile; but after he had it, he carries it away into Yorkshire, that so upon occasion of complaints of the breach of the agreement, when we would have consulted with that paper, it was gone, and Mr Nye keeps it to this day, and having been moved to restore it, His answer is, it is at Hull amongst other papers.

(b) Apollonius Letter to the 5 Apologists, the 3 of May 1644. Hæc quæstiones ad vos reverendi viri transmittō de iisdem sententias vestras quærens & ob mutam nostram fidem & charitatem serio vos oro ut non detrecteris sincere dilucide & accurate absque Rhetorici apparatus diviticulis declarare, quid vos & fratres illi quibuscum societatem vestram Ecclesiasticam colitis de hisce sentiant, quoniam meæ fidei ab Ecclesiis Christi id commissum est. Spero vos ex timore dei & charitate erga nos fratres vestros absque ullo pretextu sententias vestras hac de re declaratuross, idque quam cito fieri potest, urgent enim Ecclesiæ nostræ ut opus hoc maturem; *This zealous adjuration hath not to this day drawn from any of them any declaration.*

(c) Apol. Nar. p. 30. *A relation of our judgments in the points of difference about Church-Government, we reserve unto the more proper season.*

(d) Keyes Preface, p. 6. *Only we crave leave of the reverend Author to declare that we assent not to all expressions scattered up and down, or to all and every assertion interwoven in it; yea, nor to all the grounds or allegations of Scriptures, nor should we in all things perhaps have used the same termes, to expresse the same materialls by.*

(e) Apol. Nar. p. 10. *A second principle we carried along with us in all: our resolution was not to make our present judgement and practice a binding law unto our selves for the future; and therefore in a jealousy of our selves, wee kept this reserve to alier and retract, though not lightly what ever should be discovered to be taken up out of*



of a misunderstanding of the rule, which principle we wish were next to that most Supreme, enacted as the most sacred Law of all others.

(f) Cottons Keyes published by Goodwin and Nye, p. 49. In what sense the Church of a particular Congregation is the first subject of the power of the Keyes; in the same sense it is Independent and none other, we taking the first subject and the Independent subject to be all one. Answer to the 32 questions, p. 46. For the matter of Independency, we confesse the Church is not so Independent, but it ought to depend upon Christ; But for Dependency upon men or other Churches, or other Subordination unto them in regard of Church-Government and power, we know not of any such appointed by Christ and his Word. The Churches were not Dependent and Subordinate to others, but all of them absolutely free and Independent. Burtons Vindication, p. 42. We are not so ashamed of the Title of Independency, as utterly to disclame it, and that for two reasons; first, for distinction sake, between us and that which you call Presbyteriall Government; The second is, because this word Independent is to signifie that wee hold all particular Churches of Christ to be of equall authority, and none to have Iurisdiction over another, but each Church is under Christs Governments as the sole head, King, Lord, Law-Giver thereof.

(g) Apol. Nar. p. 22. We doe professedly judge the Calvinian Reformed Churches of the first Reformation from out of Popery to stand in need of a further Reformation themselves.

(h) Ibid. p. 19. Wee think we give more to the Magistrate then the principles of the Presbyteriall Government will suffer them to yeeld.

(i) Ibid. p. 24. Wee doe here publicly professe we believe the truth to lie and consist in a middle way, betwixt that which is falsely charged on us, Brownisme, and that which is the contention of these times, the Authoritative Presbyteriall Government. Preface to the Keyes, p. 5. We are yet neither afraid, nor ashamed to make profession that the substance of this brieve extract, is that very middle way betwixt that which is called Brownisme, and the Presbyteriall Government.

(k) Vide supra, Chap. 2. (B) and (R 2.)

(l) Prynnes Discovery, p. 29. Iohn Lilbourn in his Answer

to 9 Arguments, p.4. writes the Church of England is a true whoorish mother, and you are one of her base begotten and bastardly children. I say, the Church of England neither is, nor never was truly married to Christ in that espousall band which his true Churches are and ought to be, but is one of Anti-christs Nationall whorish Churches: your Church is false and Anti-christian, the Ministers of the Church of England, are not true Ministers of Christ, but false Ministers of Anti-christ, *ibid.* p.31. This language and opinion of his concerning our English Church and Ministry, is seconded by most Independents in their late Pamphlets.

(m) Mr Robinson hath written a whole Treatise upon this subject.

(n) Answer to the 32 questions, p.27. If we were in England, we should willingly joyne in some parts of Gods true worship, and namely, in hearing the Word where it is truly preached; yea, though we doe not know them to be true Churches. For some worship, as prayer, and preaching, and hearing the Word, is not peculiar to Church-Assemblies, but may bee performed in other meetings. Cottons letter examined, p.43. The second thing which Mr Cotton himselfe hath professed concerning English Preachers, is, that although the Word, yet not the Seales may be received from them, because (saith he) there is no Communion in hearing, and the Word is to be preached to all but the Seales, &c.

(o) Vide supra. Chap.3. (G.)

(p) Cottons Letter examined, p.37. Cotton here confesseth these two things; first, if any reproach the Church of Salem for Separation, it is a sin meet to be censured; secondly, the Churches themselves may be separated from, who tolerate their members in such causelesse reproachings, which I leave to himselfe to reconcile with his former profession against Separation.

(q) Vide supra. Chap. 4. (R).

(r) Vide supra, Chap. 5. (E 1).

(s) Burtons Vindication, p.45. We esteeme the Government of Christs Church so holy, as we cannot think them fit to be admitted, be they never so good, that think so slightly of the way, and of them that walk in it that they refuse to agree to walk in this way with the people of God. *Ibid.* p.62. Doe you not know that no Infants have

any title to Baptisme, but by vertue of their Parents faith outwardly professed, and what outward profession of faith in the Parents that refuse Christ for their only King? If therefore the Parents refuse thus to be in visible Covenant, can the children be said to be in visible Covenant, and so to have a right to baptisme? If then the Parents by refusing Christ as their King, doe hereby cut themselves off from the Covenant, they doe therewith cut off their children to.

(z) Ibid. p. 63. We dare not baptise the children of these Parents that refuse to professe the faith of Christ as their onely King as well as their only Priest and Prophet; for Christ divided, becomes no Christ to the divider; this is to dissolve Christ, that is, to receive him onely in part and not in whole, which is the spirit of Antichrist, ibid. p. 55. Such a conversion as you speak of, comes not home to whole Christ, and such with their Converters doe deny Christs Kingly Government; what kind of Converters call you these? at best they are converted but in part, and that maine thing is wanting, to wit, Christs Kingly Office which they come not up to by the preaching thereof.

(w) Paper of Accommodation after the ninth proposition: We having weighed our Brethrens principles, doe find no probability of an Accommodation for them ordinarily to enjoy Congregations, unlesse it shall happen in a Parish that the Minister cannot administer the Sacraments to all of the Parish, whom possibly the neighbour Ministers or the Classis may judge fit to be admitted, such persons shall have power to procure to themselves the Sacraments by the help of a neighbour Minister, ibid. Whereunto our brethren adde as followeth, or otherwise if in a Parish it happen that there be a considerable number of such as cannot partake in the Ordinances with the Minister and people, there they shall have liberty to dispose of themselves as a distinct Church, and to choose a Minister or Ministers, at their own charge to be maintained to be their Pastor.

(x) Thomas Goodwin to I. G. p. 1. Indeed we that are to admit doe it upon a conviction and perswasion of the parties true grace some way made forth visible to us. Welds answer, to chap. 3. Hee tells us that they must be reall Saints and sincere Believers, and that the Church in admitting of them, doth make exact tryall by examination of their knowledge, and the work of grace, first in private, then



them in publike, and that they be such as can cleave together in opinion and affection, and that they be such as know what belongs to Church-Covenant, approve it and seek it; is there any thing in all this that you can blame?

(y) Ibid. In the Churches where we have lived many years, we have seen such a tender respect had to the weaker sex, that we commit their tryall to the Elders, and some few others in private, who upon their Testimony are admitted into the Church without any more ado.

(z) Rathbones Narration, p. 11. Beside true and reall Saintship, they require that the members to be admitted, be such as can cleave together, both in opinion and in affection, and that there be suitablenesse and sweetnesse of spirit in them, apt to close one with another.

(aa) Vide supra, (Z) also Cotons Way, p. 7.

(bb) Vide supra, fifth Chap. (E 1.)

(cc) Apol. Nar. p. 9. Excommunication should be put in execution for no other kind of sinnes then may be evidently presumed to be perpetrated against the parties known light, as whether it be a sinne in manners and conversation, such as is committed against the light of nature, or the common received practises of Christianity professed in all the Churches of Christ; or if in opinion, then such as are likewise contrary to the received principles of Christianity, and the power of godlinesse professed by the party himselfe, and universally acknowledged in all the rest of the Churches, and no other sinnes to be the subject of that dreadful sentence.

(dd) Bastwicks Postscript, p. 58. also his Iust defence. p. 39.

(ee) An Apologie of the Churches in New-England, for a Church-Covenant

(ff) T.G. to I.G. p. First, it is no more with us then this, an assent and resolution professed by them that are to be admitted by us, with promise to walk in all these wayes pertaining to this Fellowship, so farre as they shall be revealed to them in the Gospel; thus briefly, indefinitely and implicitly, in such like words and no more or otherwise, do we apply our answers to mens consciences. Church-covenant, p. 36. We deny not, but the Covenant in many of the English Congregations is more implicate, and not so plaine as were to bee desired; yet therewants not that reall and substantiall comming toge-

ther or agreeing in Covenant, and that substantiall profession of faith, which thanks be to God, hath preserved the essence of visible Churches in England unto this day.

(gg) *Plaine-dealing*, p.2. A Church is gathered after this manner; a compctent number of Christians come together in some fit place in a publike manner, and there confesse their sins, and professe their faith, and enter into Church-covenant; after this, they doe at this same time or some other all being together, elect their own Officers, as Pastor, Teacher, Elders, Deacons, if they have fit men enough to supply these places; else as many of them as they can bee provided of; then they set another day for the Ordination of their said Officers.

(hh) *Answer to the 32 questions*, p.36. If Church-communion and the exercise of such Ordinances, as Christ hath appointed for his Church, was lawfull and needfull, when Magistrates were enemies to the Gospel, and be not so when Magistrates professe the Gospel, we doe not see but Christians may sometime be losers by having Christian Magistrates, and in worse condision then if they had none but professed enemies, *ibid.* p.41. It is our practise in Ordination of Ministers, as also in removing of them, to have the assistance of Ministers of other Churches; but for authority and power, we know none, that Ministers have, properly so called, in any Congregation save that one over which the holy Ghost hath made them Over-seers, and therefore we think it not lawfull when a Church is to Ordaine Officers, to call in by way of authority or power the Ministers of other Churches.

(ii) *Cottons Way*, p.1. The Church to which Christ hath committed the censures, is a combination of faithfull godly men, meeting by common consent into one Congregation, *ibid.* 7. Then such whose hearts God teacheth often meet together about the things of God and performe some duties of prayer and spirituall conference together, till a sufficient company of them be well satisfied in the spirituall good estate one of another, and so have approved themselves to one anothers consciences in the sight of God, as living stones fit to be laid in the Lords spiritull Temple, *ibid.* p.10. The Church being thus gathered as hath beene described: Our next care is, that it may bee supplied with all those Officers which Christ hath ordained.

(kk) *Ans.*

(kk) Answer to the 32 Questions, p. 43. We doe not finde that God doth anywhere say they must be above forty or else they cannot be a Church: nay rather that speech of Christs, of two or three gathered together in his name, doth plainly imply, that if there be a greater number then two or three, whom they being not satisfied in the answer of an offender, may appeale unto, and in so doing tell the Church, such a small number may be a Church, and may have the blessing of his presence to be among them.

(ll) Ibid. p. 8, 9. When a visible Church is to be erected, it is necessary that in respect of quantity it be no more in number in the dayes of the New Testament, but so many as may meet in one Congregation.

(mm) Ibid. p. 15. The Church is before the Ministers; seeing the power of chusing Ministers is given to the Church by Christ.

(nn) Ibid. p. 68. The Church that hath no Officers, may elect Officers unto themselves; therefore it may also ordaine them: if it hath power from Christ for the one, and that the greater, it hath also for the other which is the lesser: now, Ordination is lesse then Election.

(oo) Ibid. p. 42. Unto the 13 question, whether you think it convenient, that a company of private and illiterate persons should ordinarily examine, elect, ordaine, and depose their Ministers: a part of the answer to this question is, if there were none among them who had humane learning, we doe not see how this could hinder them of their Liberty to chuse Ministers, purchased to them by Christs precious blood; for they that are fit matter to be combined into a Church body, have learned the Doctrine of the holy Scriptures in the fundamentall points thereof; they have learned to know the Lord in their owne hearts; therefore they may not bee reproached as illiterate or unworthy to chuse their owne Ministers; nay they have the best learning, without which all other learning is but madnesse and folly.

(pp) Plaine Dealing, p. 3. They set a day for the Ordination of their Officers, and appoint some of themselves to impose hands upon them: where there are Ministers or Elders before, they impose their hands upon the new Officers; but where there is none, there some of their chiefest men two or three of good report amongst



amongst them, though not of the Ministry, doe by appointment of the same Church lay hands upon them. Cottons way, p. 40, 41. Towards the end of the day, one of the Elders of the Church, if they have any, if not, one of the graver Brethren of the Church, appointed by themselves to order the work of the day, standeth up and enquireth in the Church &c. he adviseth him who is chosen, what duties the Lord requireth of him in that place towards the Church; then with the Presbytery of that Church, if they have any, or if not, with two or three others of the gravest Christians among the Brethren of that Church, being deputed by the body, he doth in the name of the Lord Jesus ordaine him to that Office, with imposition of hands, calling upon the Lord; and so turning the speech to the person on whom their hands are imposed, he as the mouth of the Presbytery, expresses their Ordination of him, and puts a sollemn charge upon him to look well to himselfe and the flock. After this the Elders of other Churches present, observing the presence of God in the orderly proceeding of the Church to the Officers Election and Ordination, one of them in the name of all the rest, doth give unto him the right hand of Fellowship in the sight of all the Assembly.

(qq) Answer to the 32 questions, p. 48. If the Church hath power by election to chuse a Minister, and so power of instituting him, then of destituting also; Instituire & destituer ejsdem est potestatis.

(rr) Ibid. p. 44. We conceive that every Church properly so called, though they bee not above ten persons, or the least number that you mention, have right and power from Christ to transact all their owne Ecclesiasticall businesse, if so be they be able, and carry matters justly; for the power of the Keyes Matth. 16. 19. is committed by Christ unto the Church.

(ss) Cottons Catechism, p. 10. It is committed to the Presbytery to prepare matters for the Churches hearing.

(tt) Answer to the 32 quest. p. 60. In this sense matters with us are carried according to the vote of the major part, that is, with the joynt consent of the whole Church, but yet because it is the mind of Christ.

(ww) The propositions to which almost all our Elders did agree when they were assembled together: the first, the Fraternity

is the first subject of all Presbyteriall power, radicaliter, id est causatim per modum collationis, non habitualiter, non actualiter, non formaliter.

(xx) Anatom. p. 26. I heare of no ruling Elders that ever Mr Simpson had in his Church. Anatomist anatomised, p. 12. It is true de facto wee had none, but were resolved to have them. Notwithstanding this answer of Mr Simpons, that Church of Rotterdam to this day hath never had a Presbytery, after more then seven yeares delay.

(yy) Antap. p. 52. Pastors are necessary Officers in your Churches, and yet according to your practises your Churches are many yeares without them.

(zz) Keyes p. 10. Authority is a morall power, and a superiour Order or State, binding or releasing an inferiour in point of subjection. Christ hath given no Iurisdiction but to whom he hath given office. The Key of power in a large sense, or Liberty, is in the Church; but the Key of authority or rule, in a more strickt sense, is in the Elders of the Church.

(aaa) Excommunication is one of the highest acts of Rule; and therefore cannot bee performed but by some Rulers: now where all the Elders are culpable, there be no Rulers left in that Church to censure them: as therefore the Presbytery cannot excommunicate the whole Church, though apostate, for they must tell the Church, and joyne with the Church in that censure; so neither can the Church excommunicate the whole Presbytery, because they have not received from Christ an Office of Rule without their Officers. Ib. preface p. 4. He gives unto the Elders or Presbytery a binding power of Rule and Authority peculiar unto them, and to the Brethren distinct and apart an interest of power and priviledge to concurre with them, and that such affaires should not be transacted but with the joynt agreement of both, though out of a different Right: so that as a Church of Brethren only could not proceed to any publike censures, without they have Elders over them; so neither in the Church have the Elders power to censure, without the concurrence of the people: so as each alone have not power of excommunicating the whole of either, though together they have power over any particular person or persons in each.

(bbb) Ibid. also Keyes p. 13. Else the Brethren have a  
power

power of order, and the priviledge to expostulate with their brethren in case of private scandals: so in case of publike scandall, the whole Church of brethren have power and priviledge to joyne with the Elders in inquiring, hearing, judging of publike scandals, so as to bind notorious offenders and impenitents under censure, and to forgive the repentant.

(ccc) The propositions, 3. prop. The fraternity having authoritative concurrence with the Presbytery in Iudiciall acts.

(ddd) Keyes, p. 16. Though the Church want authority to Excommunicate their Presbytery, yet they want not liberty to withdraw from them.

(eee) Keyes Preface, p. 5. When we first read this of this learned Author, knowing what hath been the more generall current both of the practice and judgement of our brethren for the Congregationall way; wee confesse we were filled with wonderment at that Divine hand that had thus led the judgements without the least mutnall interchange or intimation of thoughts or notions in these particiclar of our brethren there and our selves here.

(fff) Ibid. Onely wee crave leave of the reverend Author to declare that wee assent not to all expressions, &c. Vide supra.

(ggg) Tabula. Potestas charitativa merè est primo fratrum & Presbyterorum charitativè non politicè ambulantium, secundo sororum.

(hhh) Vide supra, Chap. 4. (F).

(iii) Vide supra, Chap. 3. (M).

(kkk) Bastwicks Independency, p. 99. The fifth Quære is whether the women and people as well as the Ministers have the Keyes? and whether the women have all their votes in the Church, both for election and reprobation of Members and Officers as well as the men? and whether the consent of all the women, and the greatest part of them be requisite for the making of any one a member, or officer, so that if they gain-say it, being the greater number, or allow of it, the most voyces carry the businesse? the practice of this the brethren in some of their Congregations hold for Orthodox. Mr Prynnes Fresh Discovery, in his Dedicatory Epistle to the Parliament, p. 5. And to interest the femall Sex and araw them to their party, they allow them not only decisive votes  
but



but liberty of preaching, prophesying, speaking in their Congregations.

(lll) Keyes p.6. We be farre from allowing that sacrilegious usurpation of the Ministers Office, which we heare of to our grieve to be practised in some places, that private Christians ordinarily take upon them to preach the Gospel publickly, and to Minister the Sacraments. Katharine Chidleys Iustification of the Independent Churches, p. 28. Yet that the Church must want the Word preached, or the Sacraments administered, till they have Pastors and Teachers in Office, is yet to be proved; but that which hath been alledged, is sufficient to prove that the family must not be unprovided for, either for the absence or the negligence of a Steward.

(mmm) Keyes, p. 53. A particular Congregation being the first subject of the Church power, is unavoidably Independent upon any other Church or body for the exercise thereof; for the first subject of any accident or adjunct, is Independent upon any other, either for the enjoying or for the imploying, the having or using of the same.

(nnn) Vide supra (mmm).

(ooo) Answer to the 33 Questions, p. 36. For Dependency upon men or other Churches, or other Subordination unto them in regard of Church-Government or power, we know not of any such appointed by Christ in his Word.

(ppp) Welds Answer to Rathband, 14. chap. Our Churches are tender to perswade men to act without light, much more to command or to compell; both which very words though the thing required were lawfull, are odious in the Churches of Christ most fitly becoming the Synagogues of Anti-christ.

(qqq) Vide Cottons Keyes, p. 8. & infra (zzz).

(rrr) Cottons Catechisme, p. 13. All the Churches thereabout may meet together, and by the Word of God may confute and condemn such errors in doctrine or practice as are offensive, to prevent the spreading either of the gangrene of heresie or of the leprosie of sin; and if the Church offending, shall not yet hearken unto their brethren, though the rest of the Churches have not power to deliver them to Satan; yet they have power to draw from them the right hand of Fellowship. Vide infra, (lll).

(lll) Keyes, p. 57. In the Election and Ordination of Officers.

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and censure of offenders, let it suffice the Churches consociate to assist one another with their counsel, but let them not put forth the power of their Community to take such Church Censures out of their hands; let Synods have their just authority in all Churches how pure so ever, in determining such diataxeis as are requisite for the edification of all Churches. Keyes Preface, p. 4. Hee acknowledgeth that Synods or Classes are an Ordinance of Christ, unto whom Christ hath committed a due and just measure of power, furnishing them not onely with ability to give counsell, but also a Ministeriall power and Authority, to determine, declare and enjoyne such things as may tend to the reducing of Congregations to right order and peace; but not arming them with power of Excommunicating either Congregations or their members; they are to leave the former act of this censure to that Authority which can only execute it, placed by Christ in these Churches themselves; which if they deny to doe or persist in their mis carriage then the Synod may determine to withdraw communion from them.

(ccc) Ibid.

(www) Keyes, p. 50. 51. The Magistrates addresse themselves to the establishment of Religion, and Reformation of corruptions by civill punishments upon the wilfull opposers; Iosiah put to death Idolatrous Priests; nor was that a peculiar duty of the Kings of Iuda; for of the times of the New-Testament it is Propheesied, that in some cases capitall punishment shall proceed against false prophets.

(xxx) Keyes Preface, p. 4. Hee asserteth an association of Churches, sending their Elders and Messengers into a Synod; so hee purposely chuseth to stile these Assemblies of Elders, which the Reformed Churches doe call Classes or Presbyteries.

(yyy) Cottons Catechisme, p. 3. The office or work of the ruling Elders, is to moderate the carriage of all matters of the Church Assembled, as to propound matters to the Church, and to order the season of speech and silence in the Church.

(zzz) Keyes p. 48. The pattern of Synods is set before us, Acts 15. There the Apostles assembled together with the Elders, and a multitude of brethren together with them, the whole Synod being satisfied, determine of a Iudiciall sentence, and of a way to publish it by Letters and Messengers; so the matter is at last judged

in a Congregation of Churches in a Church of Churches; for what is a Synod else but a Church of Churches? *ibid.* p 57. All the liberties of Churches were purchased to them by the precious blood of the Lord Iesus, and therefore neither may the Churches give them away, nor many Churches take them out of the hands of one.

(a a a a) Keyes Preface, p.6. In all humility wee yet see not that assembly of Apostles, Elders and brethren Acts 15 to have been a formall Synod.

(b b b b 1) *Ibid.* 4 He acknowledgeth a Synod to be an Ordinance of God, in relation to the rectifying of male administrations and healing dissensions in particular Congregations and the like cases; in such cases they declare and judge the nature of the offence.

(b b b b 2) Antap. p. 146. I was desired by Mr Ward to be present at that meeting; but when the time came, neither I, nor any English Ministers, but them of Arnheim were called; whether were the other Churches of our Nation or any of them, who could not but be offended, as them of Amsterdam, Hague, Vtrick, Leyden, Delph, called in by Arnheim, or by the Church at Rotterdam to joyn in the hearing and trying of that businesse? or did they send Messengers, or was it onely agitate by two Ministers, and two Messengers of the Church of Arnheim, one Church only, Arnheim to Rotterdam, one to one, both equall. The Sub-Committee for Accommodation Prop. 8. Some of them doe desire, that the effect of that which hereafter followeth, may be for explanations sake inserted, viz. That the Elders and Brethren of such Congregations in case they finde any thing too hard for themselves, or have any controversie among themselves, may have liberty to advise with any of these select Elders and others in the Province joyntly or apart, or with the Elders of any other Churches, for the determining and composing the controversie, or resolving that difficulty.

(c c c c) Baltwicks Independency second part. Postscript, p. 6. 7. They professed that they had rather have the Government of the Prelates then the Presbyteriall, and protest that before Presbyters shall rule over them, they will joyn with Prelaticall Priests, for the re-establishing of the Hierarchy.

(d d d d) Vide supra (r r r).

(e e e e) Apol. Nar. p. 17. What farther Authority there is of one or many sister Churches towards another whole Church or



Churches offending; we doe not yet see; and likewise we doe yet suppose that this principle of submission of Churches that miscarry unto other Churches offended, together with this other, that it is a command from Christ injoynd to Churches that are finally offended, to denounce such a sentence of Non-Communion, and withdrawing from them whilst impenitent, as unworthy to hold forth the name of Christ; these principles are mutuall duties as strictly injoynd them by Christ as any other.

(ffff) Vide supra, Chap. 2. (EEEEEE).

(gggg) Theomachia, p. 37. Concerning other civill meanes for the suppression and restraint of these spirituall evils, errors, heresies, &c. [as Imprisonment, Banishment, Interdictions, Fines, &c. Both reason and experience concur in this demonstration, that such fetters as these put upon the feet of errors and heresies to secure and keep them under, still have proved wings whereby they raise themselves the higher in the thoughts and minds of men, and gaine an opportunity of further propagation.

(h h h h) Ibid. p. 49. 50. To hold that the persons so elected (the members of the House of Commons, chosen by men unworthy, and strangers to the power of godlinesse) have a power by vertue of such nomination or election, to enact Lawes and Statutes in matters of Religion, and to Order under mulcts and penalties, how men shall worship and serve God, as it is a meanes to awaken the eye of jealousy upon them, and so is seven times more destructive unto and undermining, not only of their power, but of their honour, peace, and safety also, then any thing that is found in the way so ill intreated; so is it the settling upon the electors of such persons, I meane upon the promiscuous multitude of the Land, a greater power then ever Iesus Christ himselfe had, at least then ever he exercised.

(iiii) Vide supra, (i).

(kkkk) Vide supra, Chap. 4. (BB).

(llll) Plaine dealing, p. 39. Marriages are solemnized and done by the Magistrates and not by the Ministers.

(mmmm) Miltons Doctrine of divorce, p. 6. That indisposition, unfitness or contrariety of mind arising from a cause in nature, unchangeable, hindring and ever likely to hinder the maine benefits of conjugal society which are solace and peace, is a greater cause of divorce then naturall frigidity, especially if there be no children,  
and

and that there be mutuall consent. Ibid. p. 15. God himselfe commands in his Law more then once, and by his Prophet Malachy, as the best Translations read, That he who hates, let him divorce, that is, he who cannot love, Ibid. p. 16. He who can receive nothing of the most important helps in marriage, being thereby disabled to return that duty which is his, with a cleare and hearty countenance, and thus continues to grieve whom hee would not, and is no lesse grieved, that man ought even for loves sake and peace to move divorce; it is a lesse breach of wedlock to part with wife and quiet consent betimes, then still to profane that mystery of joy and union, with a polluting sadnesse and perpetuall distemper, Ibid. p. 63. Only these persons are joyned by God, whose minds are fully disposed and enabled to maintaine a cheerfull conversation to the solace and love of each other; he rest whom either disproportion or deadnesse of spirit or something distastfull and averse in the immutable bent of nature renders unconjugall, error may have joyned, but God never joyned against the meaning of his own Ordinance; and if he joyned them not, then there is no power above their own consent to hinder them from unjoyning when they cannot reap the soberest ends of being together in any tolerable sort, Ibid. p. 76. The freedome and eminence of mans creation, gives him to be a Law in this matter to himselfe, being the head of the other sex which was made for him; whom therefore though he ought not to injure, yet neither should he be forced to retaine in society to his own overthrow, nor to heare any judge therein above himselfe, it being also an unseemly affront to the modesty of that sex, to have her unpleasingnesse and other concealments bandied up and down, and aggravated in open Court by these hired masters of tongue-fence.

(n n n n) Williams Paper. I thought good to let you see some particulars wherein I could not close, nor goe along with them. First, that it is lawfull for a woman who sees into the mystery of Christ, in case her husband will not goe with her, to leave her husband and follow the Lords House; for the Church of God is a Christians home, where shee must dwell; and where the Saints are, there is the Lords house; and in so doing, she leaves not her husband, but her husband forsakes her: The odiousnesse of this point was further manifested unto me by the speech of Ezekiel Hollimers wife saying that she counted her selfe but a widow.

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(oooo) Plaine-dealing, p.21. *They call the dayes of the weeke, the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh which is Saturday; also the Moneths beginning at March, by the names of the first, second, and so forth to the twelfth, which is February; because they would avoid all memory of Heathenish and Idols names.*

(pp pp) Ans. to the 32. quest. p. 77. *For settled and stinted maintenance, there is nothing done that way among us except from year to year, because the conditions of Ministers may vary, and of the Church to which they do belong; neither do we know any such thing to be appointed by Christ our Lord for the maintenance of the Ministry in these dayes; the bringing in of settled endowments and eminent Preferments into the Church, hath been the corruption, and so some the destruction of such as lived by them, both Church-Officers and Church-members.*

(qq qq) Cottons Way, p. 38. *The Deacons were elected, and ordained for the serving at Tables, to wit, the serving of all these Tables which pertained to the Church to provide for, which are the Lords Table; the Tables of the Ministers or Elders of the Church, and the Tables of the poore Brethren, whither of their own body, or strangers, for the maintaining whereof we doe not appoint them to goe up and down to collect the benevolences of abler brethren; but as the Apostles received the oblations of the brethren brought and laid down at their feet, and thereby made distribution as the use of the Church required, so the Deacons receive the oblations of the brethren every Lords day, brought unto them and laid down before them, and distribute the same as the need of the Church doth require.*

(rrrr) Ibid.

(ssss) Plaine-dealing, p. 19. *At some other places they make a rate upon every man as well within as not of the Church, residing with them, towards the Churches occasions; and others are beholding now and then to the generall Court to study wayes to enforce the maintenance of the Ministry.*

(tttt) Antap. p. 276. *Have you not carried a greater port then most of the godly Ministers in the City or Countrey? have not some of you the prime Lectures of the City and other good places of advantage and profit? besides, what some of you have from*  
your



your own Churches. Vide supra Chap. 4.

(w w w w) Bastwicks Independency, p. 142. 143. It is well known and can sufficiently be proved that godly Christians of holy conversation, against whom they had no exception either for doctrine or manners, and who offered themselves to be admitted members upon their own conditions, and yet were not suffered to be joyned members, onely because they were poore; and this very reason was given them for their not-admission, that they would not have their Church over-burdened with poore, Ibid. It was replied, that the Congregation of which he was Pastor, consisted of great Personages, Knights, Ladies, and rich Merchants and such people, as they being but poore, could not walk so sutablely with them; wherefore he perswaded them to joyn themselves with some other Congregation among poore people, where they might better walk, and more comfortably, in fellowship with them.

(x x x x) Plaine-dealing, p. 16. The Pastor begins with solemn prayer continuing about a quarter of an houre, the Teacher then readeth and expoundeth a Chapter, then a Psalm is sung which ever one of the ruling Elders dictates; after that the Pastor preacheth a Sermon, and sometimes ex tempore exhortes, then the Teacher concludes with prayer and a blessing.

(y y y y) Cottons Way, p. 66. First, then when we come into the Church according to the Apostles direction, 1 Tim. 1. We make prayers and intercessions, and thanksgivings for our selves and all men.

(z z z z) I have heard the chiefe of our Brethren maintaine this publicly, and I understand it is the practice of some of them in the City.

(a a a a) Cottons Catechisme, p. 6. Where there bee more Prophets besides the Elders, they may Prophecie two or three if the time permit, the Elders calling to them, whither in the same Church or others, if they have any word of exhortation to the people to say on.

(b b b b) Ibid. And for the bettering of a mans selfe or others, it may be lawfull for either young or old, save only for women, to aske questions from the mouth of the Prophets.

(c c c c) Answer to the 32 quest. p. 78. Some think the people have a liberty to aske their questions publicly for their better  
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satisfaction upon very urgent and weighty cause, though even this is doubted of by others, and all judge the ordinary practice of it not necessary; but if it be not meekly and wisely carried, to be inconvenient if not utterly unlawfull; and therefore such asking of questions is seldom used in any Church among us, and in most Churches never.

( d d d d d ) Anatom. p. 26. In the matter of singing of Psalms they differ not only from us, but are also at variance among themselves, some thinking it unlawfull for any to sing but he who preacheth; and this hath been the late practice at Arnheim: others thinking it unlawfull for women to sing in the Congregation; hence some women at Rotterdam doe not sing; I heare also they think it unfit for any at all in such times of the Churches trouble as this.

( e e e e e ) Ibid.

( f f f f f ) Vide supra Chap. 4. ( S S 1. )

( g g g g g ) If the question be of joyning in some few selected prayers read by an able and faithfull Minister out of the book, as of the one side we are tender of imputing sinnes to these that so joyne. Vide infra ( h h h h h ).

( h h h h h ) To that part of the Directory which recommends the use of the Lords Prayer they did enter no dissent: an Answer to the 32. Questions p. 55. By a Liturgie and forme of prayer, we suppose you meane not a forme of private prayer, composed for the help of the weaker: as for a forme of prayer in generall, we conceive your meaning cannot be of that; for it is evident that many Preachers constantly use a set forme of prayer of their owne making before their Sermons, with whom the people refuse not to joyne, *ibid.* p. 59. Wee acknowledge the Lords Prayer, and other formes set downe in Scripture, may be lawfully used as prayers, due cautions being observed. Cottons pouring out of the Spirit p. 10. Not that I would discourage any poore soule from praying on a Book, for I think as we may sing Psalms on a Book, so we may in some cases pray on a Book.

( i i i i i ) Vide supra ( f ). Also see the Petition of the Inhabitants of the Colony of the Sommer Islands p. 2. Our children die unbaptized, our selves are deprived of the Lords Supper, our daughters cannot be given in marriage.

( k k k k k ) Plain Dealing p. 40. At New Plymouth Mr Chancey stands for dipping in Baptism only necessary.

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(lllll) Cottons Catechism p. 4. *What manner of men hath God appointed to be received as members of his Church? Answ. Such as doe willingly offer themselves, first to the Lord, and then to the Church, by confessing of their sins, &c.*

(mmmmmm) *This wee beare is their ordinary practice at London.*

(nnnnnn) Vide supra Chap. 4. (2).(R).

(ooooo) Vide supra ibid.

(ppppp) *This is the Apologists common profession.*

(qqqqq) *This also they professe as a cleare consequent of the former.*

(rrrrr) Cottons way p. 68. *The Lords Supper we administer for the gesture to the people sitting, according as Christ administered it to his Disciples sitting. Matth. 26. 26. who also made a symbolical use of it to teach the Church their majority over their Ministers in some cases, and their Iudiciall authority, as Cofessors with him at the last Iudgement, Luk. 22. 27. to 30.*

(sssss) *For this the Apologists did plead as much and as sharply as any.*

(ttttt) *I have heard some of their chiefe men discourse publikely enough to this purpose.*

(wwwww) Cottons Catechism p. 10. *The body of the Church hath power from Christ to enquire, and heare, and assist in the judgement of all publike scandals.*

(xxxxx) Vide supra Chap. 4. (T T).

(yyyyy) Vide supra Chap. 6. (t t).

(zzzzz) Answer to the 32 Quest. p. 61. *If it appeare, they who dissent from the major part, are factiously or partially carried, the rest labour to convince them of their error by the rule; if they yeeld, the consent of all comfortably concurrereth in the matter; if they still continue obstinate, they are admonished, and so standing under censure, their vote is nullified.*

(aaaaa) Ibid. *If the difference still continue, the sentence is still demurred even till other Churches have beene consulted with; if the Church or the Elders should refuse the Testimony of other Churches according to God, they will deny them the right hand of Fellowship &c.*

(bbbbbb) Short story p. 32. *Then Mistris Hutchinson kept*  
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open



open house for all commers, and set up two Lecture dayes in the week; when they usually met at her house three or four score persons, the pretence was to repeat Sermons; but when that was done, she would comment upon the Doctrines, and interpret all passages at her pleasure; she did lay all that opposed her, being neare all the Elders and most of the faithfull Christians in this Countrey, under a Covenant of works to advance her Master-piece of immediate revelations; wherein she had not failed of her aime to the utter subversion both of Churches and civill State, if the Lord had not prevented it. Ibid. p. 34. What say you to your weekly publike meetings? Answ. There were such meetings in use before I came; we began it with five or six, and though it grew to more in future time, yet being tolerated at the first, I knew not why it might not continue. The Courts reply, There were private meetings indeed, and are still in many places, of some few neighbours; we allow you to teach younger women privately, and upon occasion; but that gives no warrant for such set meetings for that purpose, neither do yee teach them that which the Apostle commands, to keep at home.

(ccccc) Apologet. Nar. p. 19. To the Magistrate we give as much and, as we think, more then the principles of the Presbyteriall Government will suffer them to yeeld.

(ddddd) Williams paper, Prop. 2. That the Saints are not to submit to the powers of the world or worldly powers, and that the powers and governments of the world have nothing to doe with them for civill misdemeanors; these Governours must keep in their owne spheare, as Whales, not to govern Whales, but other fishes; Lions not to governe Lions, but the beasts of the forrest; Eagles, not to governe Eagles, but the other foules of the ayre.

(eeeeee) Mr Williams related to me, that Mistris Hutchinson (with whom he was familiarly acquainted, and of whom he spake much good) after she had come to Rid Island, and her husband had beene made Governour there, she perswaded him to lay downe his Office upon the opinion which newly she had taken up of the unlawfulnessse of Magistracy.

(ffffff) Bloody Tenet p. 135. Williams sets down these words of Cottons modell, The proper meanes whereby the civill power may and should attaine its end, are only politicall, and principally these five: First, the erecting and establishing what forme of civill Government may

may seem in wisdom most meet according to the generall rules of the Word and state of the people: upon these words Williams comments thus; from this grant I inferre that the Sovereign originall and foundation of civill power lies in the people, whom they must needs meane by the civill power distinct from the Government set up: and if so that a people may erect and establish what forme of Government seems to them most meet for their civill condition, it is evident that such Governments as are by them erected and established, have no more power, nor for no longer time, then the civill power or people consenting and agreeing shall betrust them with. This is cleare, not only in reason, but in the experience of all Common-weals where the people are not deprived of their naturall freedome by the power of Tyrants. How right this Commentary is, Mr Cottons own words will declare, set downe p. 140. In a free State no Magistrate hath power over the Bodies, Goods, Lands, Liberties of a free people, but by their free consent; and because free men are not free Lords of their owne estates, but are only stewards under God; therefore they may not give their free consents to any Magistrate to dispose upon their Bodies, Lands and Liberties at large as themselves please, but as God the Sovereigne Lord of all pleases; and because the Word is a perfect rule, as well of righteousness as of holinesse, it will be therefore necessary that neither the people give consent, nor that the Magistrate take power, but according to the lawes of the Word.

(gggggg) Vide supra Chap. 5. E.

(hh hhhh) Bastwicks Independency second part. Postscript p. 65. It may evidently appeare, that all the projects of the Independents in getting prime places by Sea and Land, and in the Armies, and in the Townes, Cities, Forts, and Castles, and all other places, and in all Committees, is only for the advancement and fomenting of their Faction: and this I conceive to be the only cause of all the linsie-woolsie Committees through the Kingdom.

(iiiiiii) Williams Examination pag. 4. After my publicke triall, one of the most eminent Magistrates stood up and spoke; Mr Williams, said he, holds forth that it is not lawfull to call a wicked person to sweare, to pray, as being a lian of Gods worship.

(kkkkkk) Vide supra Chap. 3. T T. W W. A A A.

(kkkkkk 2) Lieutenant Generall Cromwells Letter to the Parliament from Brisoll; As for being united in formes commonly

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called

called uniformity, every Christian for peace sake would study and doe as farre as Conscience would permit; and from Brethren, in things of the minde, we look for no compulsion but that of Light and Reason; in other things God has put the sword into the Parliaments hands for the terrour of evill doers, and the praise of them that doe well; if any plead exemption from it, he knowes not the Gospell.

(IIIIII) Vide supra Chap. 2. (HHHHH), (IIIII)  
(KKKKK.)

(mmmmmm 1) Vide supra ibid.

(mmmmmm 2) Vide infra (mmmmmm 3.)

(mmmmmm 3) Cottons Modell of power in the Bloody Tenet p. 140. *The Magistrate in making Lawes about civill and indifferent things in the Common-wealth; First, he hath no power given him of God to make what Lawes he pleases, either in restraining from or constraining to the use of indifferent things; because that which is indifferent in its nature, may sometimes be inexpedient in its use, and consequently unlawfull: it is a prerogative proper to God to require obedience of the sons of men, because of his Authority and Will. It is an evill speech in some, that in some things the will of the Law, not the reason of it, must be the rule of Conscience to walk by: and that Princes may forbid men to seeke any other reason but their authority, yea when they command men frivola & dura; and therefore it is the duty of the Magistrate in all Lawes about indifferent things, to shew the reasons, not only the will; to shew the expediency as well as the indifferency of things of that nature; and because the judgement of expedient and inexpedient things, is often difficult and diverse, it is meet that such Lawes should not proceed without due consideration of the rules of expediency set downe in the Word, which are thesethree; First, the rule of Piety, that they may make for the glory of God, 1 Cor. 10. 31. Secondly, the rule of charity, that no scandall come thereby to any weak Brother, 1 Cor. 8. 13. Thirdly, the rule of Charity, that no man be forced to submit against his Conscience, Rom. 14. 14, 23.*

(nnnnnn 1) Vide supra Chap. 2. (KKKKKK.)

(nnnnnn 2) Cottons Modell in the Bloody Tenet p. 140. *The Magistrate hath power to publish and apply such civill Lawes in a State as either are exprest in the Word of God, in Moses Judicials; to wit, so farre as they are of generall and morall equity, and*  
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so binding all Nations in all ages ; or else to be deducted by way of generall consequence and proportion from the Word of God.

(nnnnnn 3) Ibid. p. 118. A strange modell of a Church and Common-wealth after the Mosaicall and Jewish patterne, framed by many able, learned and Godly hands, which wakens Moses from his unknown grave, and denies Iesus yet to have seen the earth.

(oooooo) Plaine Dealing p. 23. The Ministers give their votes in all elections of Magistrates.

(pppppp) Ibid. p. 25. The Ministers advise in making of Laws, especially Ecclesiastick, and are present in Courts, and advise in some cases criminall, and in framing of fundamentall Lawes. Ibid. p. 27. A draught of a body of fundamentall Lawes, according to the Indiciall lawes of the Iewes, hath been contrived by the Ministers and Magistrates, and offered to the Generall Court to be established and published to the people.

(qqqqqq) Cottons third viall p. 8. In old time, if a man playd the false Prophet, the Lord judged him to death; and so in the New Testament, as in the Old he condemnes all such to death; it is a Law Deut. 13. That false Prophets who did fundamentally pervert Religion, should not live; if high Treason against Princes on earth justly be punished by death, verily this is as dishonourable to the Prince of all Princes; that whole 13 of Deut. is spent about the seducing of false Prophets, and he puts a threefold gradation; if he be a Prophet; Therefore never so seemingly holy by his place and gifts, he shall surely be put to death: if there be never so many that shall joyne, if a whole City shall joyne together in such a course, thou shalt rise against it and destroy the City, and burne it with fire, and leave not a stone upon a stone. Ibid. p. 12. The third reason is taken from the just desert of soule-murther; there is none of all these Priests, or Iesuites, or Hereticks, but they worry and devour the soules of Gods people; and this murther of soules is justly a capitall crime, as Moses said before: if they thrust thee from thy God, let not thine eye spare such kind of corrupters. Ibid. p. 16. Are not Moses morall Lawes of perpetuall equity, and therefore to be observed in all ages? Is not murther of soules as damnable now as then? a wonder that such frivolous interpretations should come in the hearts of men, to hinder the free passage of the Justice of God on such notorious offenders. Cottons third viall p. 8. on the 22 of Joshua, when the two Tribes and an half set up an Altar by

by Iordan, although they thought not to bring in another object of worship, but another manner of worship; yet the other Tribes would have cut them off if they had found another Altar for worship: he is the same God, and his zeale is as deeply provoked against the like kinde of vitiouse nesse now as ever he was then, Ibid. p. 17. A soule that sinneth of ignorance, may be pardoned; but if he still continue obstinate, were it a City or a Tribe, they shall not suffer such in a Countrey; but you will say that the tares and wheat may grow together; grant; but it is not said that briars and thornes should grow up with them, Ibid. p. 19. You see the first use is to justify the equity of such capitall punishments upon Priests and Iesuites, and consequently on such who bring in other Gods, or another way of worshipping the true God then that wherein we may enjoy fellowship with the true God.

Cottons third Viall, p. 19. 20. For a second use, it may serve to reprove the carnall and sinfull foolish pity that is found in any estate that shall bee sparing to spill such blood of the Priests and Iesuites; the Lord loatheth this kind of lenity and indulgency; cursed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently; and cursed is he that keepeth back his sword from blood, when the Lord calls us to sheath the sword of Authority on such kinde of Delinquents, a State shall be separate from God for these tolerations.

(rrrrrr) Vide supra, Chap. 6. (f).

(ffffff) Goodwins Theomachy; also Chap. 5 (G). (H). and Chap. 6. (kk kkk k 2). also (Chap. 6. (b bbb). (hh hh).

## CHAP. VII.

*It is unjust scrupulosity to require satisfaction of the true grace of every Church-Member.*

The Independents prime principles.

**H**AVING set down the Proceedings and Tenets of the Brownists and Independents, so farre as my slender reading of some of their writings and observation of their wayes have brought to my memory at this time: Before I leave them, it will not bee unfit to examine the truth of their chiefe principles whereby they have disturb'd the Church, and will continue so to doe untill they have

have changed their minde. For shortnesse, I will pitch but upon foure grounds which the *Independents* have learned in the *Brownists* schoole: The first, concerning the members of a Congregation; The next three concerning their power. We will first consider whither the members of every particular Church bee obliged at their first admission to shew to the whole Congregation convincing signs of their Regeneration and true grace. Secondly, whether the people of a Congregation have a power of voycing in every Ecclesiastick affaire. Thirdly, whether the power of the Congregation be absolute and *Independent*? Fourthly, whither every man who hath a gift though not an office, hath power to preach and prophesie publickly.

The first question is of the greatest importance: The *Independents* would gladly dissemble their minde therein; to this day they have declined all solemn debate upon it, they speak as if they were either fully or very neere accorded with us, professing their utter dislike of the *Brownists* unreasonablenesse herein; but I professe this hath alwayes seemed to me their capitall and fundamentall difference, the only cause of their separation from us, and wherein if wee could either agree or accommodate, there would be a faire possibility of accord in all things else, at least so farre as to be united in one and the same Church; but this difference is the great partition wall, which so long as it stands, will force them to continue their intolerable practice of separating from all the Reformed Churches in the world, and that for fewer and more unjust causes then any who ever did carry the name of a Separatist, to this day did pretend. This seemes to bee the reason why both *Spollonius* and *Spanheim* very excellent Divines, have begun their dispute with this question.

Their Tenet about the qualification of members, is, the great cause of their separating from all the Reformed Churches though they doe dissemble it.

For the stating of the controversie, consider how it stands betwixt us and the *Independents* at this time; the *Brownists* for their separation were wont to alledge the impurity of our worship, the corruption of our Government, the open prophanenesse of the most in our Congregations. By the mercy of God, the first is fully Reformed, at least so farre according to the minde of our brethren, that they have entred no dissenting vote to any one passage of the Directory for worship: The Government also is so farre cleared in the Assemblie, that they have entered their dissent.



dissent from no part of it, except that alone which concerns the Jurisdiction of *Presbyteries* and Synods; and their dissent herein, might and still may well be so carried as not to occasion any breach.

In this they  
goe beyond  
the *Brownists*.

But the third is the great cause of division, wherein they much out-runne the *Brownists*; for they did never offer to separate upon this ground alone; and the matter whereupon here they stumbled, was only open profanenesse and that incorrigible, either through want of power or want of care to remedy it. If the profanenesse was not open and visible, or if the Church had her full power to execute discipline, and according to her power made conscience really to censure scandalls: These things as I conceive, would have abundantly satisfied the *Brownists*, and cured their separation.

The true state  
of the question  
is whether it  
be necessary to  
separate from  
a Church,  
wherein wee  
get no satisfac-  
tion of the  
true grace of  
every Member  
at their first  
admission.

But the *Independents* now doe draw them up much higher then they were wont to stand; They teach them to stumble not only at open profanenesse, but at the want of true grace; yea, at the want of convincing signes of Regeneration: They teach them to require not only a power and care in the Church to censure such profanenesse, but also a power in every member of the Church to keep out all others with whom they are not satisfied in the truth of their grace; So the question is not as usually it is made, of the quality of the members of the Church, but of the necessity to separate from that Church wherein we are not satisfied by convincing signs of the true faith and grace of every member at their first admission. Wee grant it is earnestly to be wished, and all lawfull meanes would diligently be used both by Pastors and people, to have all the members of a Church most holy and gracious, and what ever lawfull overture our Brethren can invent for this end, we with all our heart will embrace it, or else be content to beare much blame; We grant also, that it is the duty of Church-Governours to keep off every scandalous person from profaning to their own damnation the holy things of the Lord; and that it is the duty of these Governours not only to suspend from the holy Table all scandalous persons, but farther to cast all such out of the Church without respect of persons in the case of obstinacy, when by no meanes they can be brought to satisfactory repentance; we grant also, that Church-Governours deficient in these duties, ought themselves to be disciplined by the rod of Church-Censures; these things were never controverted. But the questi-

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on is, whether because of the admission of some to Church-membership who have not given satisfaction to every member of the Church in the point of their reall Regeneration, a Church may lawfully be separated from, as vitiously constitute, for that essential defect in its very matter?

Our Brethrens constant and resolute practice albeit gilded over with many faire words, maketh this to be the cleare state of the question, against which I reason thus :

First, What to *Moses* and the Prophets was not a sufficient cause of separation from the Churches of their time, is not a sufficient cause for us to separate from the Churches in our times. But, want of satisfaction by convincing signes of the true grace of many members of the Church, was not a sufficient cause for *Moses* and the Prophets to separate in their times. *Ergo* : The minor is cleare and uncontroverted ; for *Moses* and the Prophets were so farre from separating from the Churches of their dayes for want of assurance of the true grace of every person in these Churches that they remained still to their dying day in the bosome of these Churches, communicating with them in the Word, Prayer, Sacraments and Sacrifices, though they were assured of the evident wickednesse of the most of their fellow-members. *Moses* knew the Body of *Israel* to bee a crooked and perverse generation : *Isaiah* tells the *Iewes* that they were another *Sodom* ; *Jeremy* sheweth that *Israel* in his dayes was uncircumcised in heart, no better then *Moab*, *Ammon*, or *Edom* ; *Micah*, that the godly in his time were very rare as the summer fruits, as the grapes after the Vintage ; of this truth all the Prophets are full ; yet for all this, none of the Prophets did ever think of a separation.

For the Negative, we reason first from the practice of *Moses* & the Prophets, who did never offer to separate for any such reason.

All the difficulty then is in the major, which thus we prove: The Church in the dayes of *Moses* and the Prophets, was one and the same with the Church of our dayes : The House of God, the body of Christ, the Elect and redeemed people, the holy Nation, the peculiar treasure and spouse of the Lamb: The difference of the true Church in any age is at most but in accidentall circumstances, and not in any essentials: so what ever morall evill doth defile the Church now, and is a just cause of ejection or separation, that must be so at all times, especially, under the old Testament, where all the Ceremoniall differences that are alledged betwixt the

The causes of a just separation were smaller under the Law, nor under the Gospel.

Church then and now, make for the strengthening of the Argument; for then the causes of separation were stricter and smaller; a little Ceremoniall pollution would then have kept out of the sanctuary; much more a morall uncleanness would have made the sacrifice abominable. If therefore at that time the matter in hand was no cause of separating from the Church, much lesse can it be so now, when God hath given a greater liberty to the Church in her majority, and when Christians are not so easily infected by their neighbours sinnes as of old in the dayes of the Churches infancy they were; Idolatry, false doctrine, open profaneness, were then most abominable, and more terribly punished then now, by the totall destruction of whole Cities and Countries wherein they were entertained; also the duty of mutuall inspection and admonition, the contempt whereof is made the grand cause of separation, was most clearly enjoined in the Old Testament.

The weaknesse  
of their Reply.

What here is replied, that all separation from the Iewish Church was simply impossible, because then there was no other Church in the whole earth to goe to: We answer, that the Replyers themselves will say that a separation must be where there is just cause, and where a person cannot abide without pollution and sin, although there be no other Church for him to go to; for they make it better for men to live alone separate from all, then to abide in any Church where they cannot live without the participation of their neighbours sinnes. We answer further, That it was easie for the godly under the Law to have joyned together in the service of God, and to have excluded the wicked thence; and whereas it is said, that this could not bee done, because the Censure of Excommunication was not then in being; We answer, the Gospel makes it cleare; That casting out of the Synagogue which was reall Excommunication, was frequent in the Old Testament; as also the keeping off from the service with a great deale of circumspection all who were unfit by any legall pollution, much more by any known morall uncleanness; Kings themselves when polluted, were removed from the Altar and put out of the Sanctuary.

Our second  
reason, is from  
the example  
of Christ and  
his Apostles,  
who did not  
separate for  
any such  
causes.

Again, I reason thus; That which moved not Christ and his Apostles to separate from the Church of their time, is no cause to us of separation; but, want of satisfaction by convincing signes of the

true



true grace of every member of the Church, was to them no cause of separation from the Churches of their times, *Ergo*.

The major is cleare, except we desire a better pattern for our practises then Christ and his Apostles; what ever carrieth us beyond their line, must be high presumption and deep hypocrisie.

The minor is cleare, by many Scriptures; the Scribes and Pharisees were a generation of vipers; *Ierusalem* worse then *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*; *Corazin* and *Bethsaida* was worse then *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and to be cast lower in Hell then these: yet the Lord did not give over to preach, to pray, to go to the Temple with them. *Judas* when a declared Traytor, did not scarre him, nor any of his company from the Sacrament. After he went from the Table, when his wickednesse was revealed that a Devill was in him; yet none of the Apostles offered to cast themselves out of the body because this wicked member was not cut off. Many members of the Apostolick Churches were so farre from convincing signes of true grace, that the works of the flesh were most evident in their life. In the *Corinthians*, fundamentall errours, open Idolatry, grievous scandall, bitter contentions, profanation of the Lords Table. In the *Galatians*, such errours as destroyed grace, and made Christ of none effect. In the Church of *Ephesus*, of *Laodicea*, and the other golden Candlesticks, divers members were so evidently faulty, that the Candlestick is threatned to be removed; yet from none of these Churches did any of the Apostles ever separate, nor gave they the least warrant to any of their Disciples to make a separation from any of them.

A third Argument. The want of that which never was to be found in any Church, is no just cause of separation: But satisfaction by convincing Arguments of the true grace of every member, was never to be found in any Church.

The major is unquestionable for what is not, cannot have any operation; *non entis nulla sunt accidentia*.

The minor is demonstrable; from the nature of a visible Church, it is such a body whose members are never all gracious, if we believe Scripture, It is not like the Church invisible, the Church of the Elect. It is an heterogeneous body, the parts of it are very dissimilar, some chaffe, some corne, some wheat, some tares; a net of fishes good and bad; a house wherein are vessels of honour

The third reason; it is impossible to find true grace in every member of any visible Church that ever was or shall be in the world.

and dishonour, a fold of sheep and goats, a tree of green and withered branches, a table of guests, some with, some without a wedding garment; in a word, every visible Church is a society wherein many are called, few chosen; except therefore we will alter the nature of all visible Churches whereof Scripture speaks, we must grant that in every Church there are some members which have no true grace; and if so, how can they give convincing and satisfactory signes of that which is not to be found. Hypocrites may make a shew without, of that which is not within; but shall we lay an obligation upon every hypocriticall member of a Church to be so eminently skilfull in the art of counterfeiting as to produce in the midst of his gracelesnesse, so cleare, so evident and satisfactory signes of his true grace, as may convince the hearts of every one of the Church that the thing is within the mans breast which certainly is not there?

The fourth, this satisfaction in the true grace of all to be admitted, is builded on foure errors, first that the power of Ecclesiastick Iurisdiction is in the hand of every one of the people.

The fourth Argument, The want of that which cannot reasonably be supposed of every member of a Congregation, is no just cause of separation from any Church; but satisfaction &c. *Ergo.*

The major is cleare; for if the want of such satisfaction be a just cause of separation from the Church; Then the presence of such a satisfaction is very requisite to be in every member, as a necessary meane to keep it in union with that Church.

The minor, that such a satisfaction may not justly be supposed in every member of a Congregation; for this would import these foure things, all which are unreasonable. First, that every member of a Congregation is to have power to try all its fellow-members, to let them in or hold them out, according as in this triall he is satisfied: This is a large limb of the Brownistick Anarchy, putting the key of Authority and Iurisdiction into the hand of every Church-member; if all the *Independents* will defend this, let them speak it out plainly.

Secondly, that one man may attaine to the certain knowledge of the true grace in the heart of another.

Secondly, it requires a great deale of more ability in every member of every Church, then can be found in any mortall man: for not to speak of the impossibility of a grounded and certaine perswasion of true grace in the heart of an Hypocrite, who hath no grace at all: how is it possible to attaine unto any grounded certainty of true grace in the heart of any other man? for the hid man of the heart, and the new name, are not certainly known to any

any but to such as have them. The grounds of a mans own certain perswasion, the act of his faith either direct or reflex, the witness of his conscience, or the seale of the spirit, cannot go without his own breast: all the demonstrations which can be made to another, are so oft found false, that in understanding men they can breed at most but a fallible opinion or a charitable hope, which is farre from any certainty either of sense or science, much more of faith or immediate revelation.

Thirdly, it layeth a burthen unsupportable to the strongest, upon the conscience of every weak one; they must ever be in perplexity and doubt what to do, whether to stay in the Church, or under the pain of sin to separate from it till they have accurately examined, and after all needfull triall attained to a full satisfaction and assurance of minde of the regeneration of every member, were they never so many of that Church whereunto he belongeth: The burden of such a task might break the back of the strongest Pastor, much more of a silly Lamb.

Fourthly, this presupposeth that all Congregations must of new be gathered, and all their members admitted of new, which none may grant who minds not for the *Independents* pleasure at once to dissolve all the Reformed Churches, and to avow that every person though born in the true Church, within the Covenant of grace sealed in Baptism with the seale of God, religiously educated in the feare and knowledge of God, is notwithstanding without the Church, and no member of the body of Christ, till he be admitted to the Lords Supper. Ordinarily in all Christendom persons are actuall members of the Church wherein they were borne of faithfull parents, baptised and Christianly educated, before they be admitted to the holy Table. The case and question of admitting members by a Congregation after all are convinced of the true grace of him who craveth membership among them, is but a new, rash, unjust case of the *Independents*, which will inferre the gathering of new Churches, the dissolution of all our old ones, and lay a high royall street for Anabaptism, excluding all our baptised children from Church-membership till they give personall satisfaction of their true grace, and enter into a formall expresse Covenant.

I adde but one other reason; No reall absurdity doth follow upon any divine truth, but divers reall absurdities follow necessarily upon

Thirdly, that it is a duty of every member of a Church to seek and finde satisfaction in the true grace of all his fellow-members.

Fourthly, that all the Reformed Churches must once bee dissolved and unchurched, that they may bee reformed according to the new mould of the *Independents*.

The fifth argument. Their Tenet is followed with divers absurdities.



the ground of Separation in hand. *Ergo*, the ground of Separation in hand is no divine truth, but an evill errour.

The major no man controverts; for every true consequent is a stream that flowes out of the antecedent as its fountaine; as the fountain is bitter or sweet, so are the streams; from a true antecedent a false consequent by no force can be extorted; if the consequent be rotten, it is a sure sign the antecedent is not sound.

As first, it is necessary to separate from all Churches that are this day in the world, except it be from these of the *Independents*.

The absurd consequents I name for the prooffe of the minor, are, First, That then it shall be necessary to separate from all the Churches that are this day in the world, except alone from these of the *Independent way*; for no other Church doth so much as intend or assay to give assurance to every one of their members of the true grace of all the rest; but on the contrary they teach such an endeavour to be both impossible and unreasonable. The absurdity of the consequent is so cleare, that I pursue it no farther then to this Dilemma; If it be necessary to separate from all the Churches of the world but the *Independents*; Then, all other Churches but theirs are false, or else it is lawfull to separate from Churches that are true; but, neither of these will sound well in a Protestant eare.

Secondly, it was necessary to separate from all Churches that ever have been.

The second absurd consequent, That then it was necessary to separate from all other Churches that have been in any former time; for not one of them ever, no not the greatest Schismatics, the Novatians, the Donatists themselves did ever minde that every one of their members should so narrowly examine all their fellows, as to come to a certain perswasion of their reall regeneration.

Thirdly, there can be no rest for any till they turne seekers, and leave all societies that are called Churches.

The third consequent, That then to the worlds end no Church anywhere can have any solid foundation; for this principle is a mountain of quick-silver that rests not till all the Churches builded upon it be quite overthrown. The conviction of every members conscience of the true faith and grace of all their fellow-members, is so sandy a foundation, that nothing builded upon it can stand: What else hath broken in halves, and quarters, and demi-quarters these separate Societies? What made them of *Amsterdam* first break off from *England*, then from *Holland*, and all the Reformed, then among themselves once and the second time? What made *Smith* at *Leyden*, after he had fallen off from *England*, next to leave the *Brownists*, and after the *Anabaptists*, till at last he broke off from all Christians to the *Arrian* heresie? What else doth

doth drive many of *Old* and of *New-England*, when they have run about the whole circle of the *Sects*, at last to break out into the newest way of the *Seekers*, and once for all to leap out of all Churches; betaking themselves to their devotions apart: here indeed it is, and no where else, where they come to a possibility of satisfaction of the inward estate of these in their way, that is of themselves alone. This is the reward of presumptuous error; it cannot rest when it hath led the seduced soule about the whole round of the fancies of the time, till at last it throw it out of all that is called or so much as pretended to be a Church.

The reasons alledged for the opposite Tenet, may be seen in the *Brownists* Apology, also in *Robinsons* Iustificatio, in *Cans* necessity of Separation, in *Barrows* Discovery; but for shortnesse we will only consider what is brought by Mr *Cotton* in his *Way of the Churches*; for there, the best of the *Brownists* arguments are brought in the greatest lustre and strength which Mr *Cotton* thought meet to put upon them. Also what there is brought by Mr *Cotton*, is acknowledged by our Brethren as their judgement, without the hesitation of any marginall asterisk, which when they dissent or doubt, they profess to affix to some other passages of that book.

*Cottons* reasons to the contrary are answered.

The best form I can set on his first argument, is this; If every member of each Church is not only in profession, but in sincerity and truth to be a Saint and faithfull; then, the Officers and body of each Church must take triall, and be satisfied of the true faith and sanctification of every person before they receive him into the Church; but, every member of each Church is not only in profession, but in sincerity and truth to be a Saint and faithfull; Ergo, the Officers and body of each Church must take triall, and be satisfied of the true faith and sanctification of every person before they receive him into the Church. All the prooffe is bestowed upon the minor from these Scriptures which make all the members of the Church to bee Saints by calling, and faithfull Brethren: the Church it selfe to be the body of Christ, the Temple of the holy Ghost, the spouse of Christ, the sons and daughters and children of God.

His first reason put in form.

We answer that no part of this argument is sound. The major, minor, and conclusion are vitious. First, the conclusion commeth not neare the question; for were it granted, it concludes no more but

All the parts of it are vitious, the conclusion proves not the question.

but a duty of the Church-officers and members to try and be satisfied about the state of these who are to be received into the Church, but it hath no word of an other duty which is the point in question: It speaks nothing of a necessity to separate from a Church upon the neglect of the former duty; this alone is the state of the present controversie, which neither is expressed nor by any consequence doth follow from any thing that is expressed in this conclusion: for suppose it were a duty laid by God upon every Church-Officer and member, to enquire accurately after the Faith and Sanctification of all to be received among them, and to expect satisfaction in their tryall; yet I hope that every neglect of duty in the Church-Officers, much lesse in every Church-member, and least of all the want of successe of a duty truly performed, will not be found a just and necessary cause for every one to separate from a Church; if all this be not expressly concluded, this arrow misseth the marke.

It stands upon  
a chief ground  
of Anabaptism,  
and presupposes  
the nullity  
of all the Re-  
formed Churches,

Secondly, That which is expressed in the conclusion, pitcheth only upon one particular case, which the Reformed Churches neither do nor may acknowledge; for it speaks only of admission of members upon their confession of sins. This fits well the practice of the *Brownists*, who suppose a necessity to dissolve the Reformed Churches that now are as vitiously constituted from their first beginning. They may seeme to have reason in their gathering of new Churches, to put their members to tryall before admission; but the Reformed Churches who take themselves to be so farre true, that they need no dissolution or new erection, are not concerned in this case of admission; for their members were borne in the Church, and had the Covenant sealed to them in Baptisme; what tryall they take of their children when they admit them to the Lords Table, is no wayes for their admission to be members; for this practice is a maine pillar of Anabaptisme; and our brethrens engagement therein, is the ground of all their sympathy and symbolising with that Sect: So then the conclusion commeth short of the question, and toucheth not the Reformed Churches, but is builded on the pillars of rigid Separation and Anabaptisme, making that for granted which no Reformed Church may admit, but upon hard termes; no milder then the nullity and dissolution of all their Churches: that out of the rubbish, a new building may



may bee erected after the Separatists patterne.

The major also is vitious; for suppose the antecedent of it were true, yet there is no force therein to inferre the consequent; be it so, that every Church-member ought to be so holy as you will; yet, can this inferre the peoples power to try that holinesse which is the one halfe of the consequent? Such a power in the people would make every one of them a Church-Governour, which none of the Reformed Churches, nor the halfe of the Separatists themselves will admit; and they who doe plead for it, set it upon other pillars, but no man I know deduceth it from any thing in the antecedent now in hand.

The major is  
many wayes  
vitious.

For the rest of the consequent, the Officers satisfaction in the true and sincere grace of the members at their first admission, if it have any truth, yet it commeth too short of reason, and runnes also farre beyond the most rigid Separatists. If a tryall must be made of Church-members, why at their first admission alone and never after? Is it not an ordinary case in all Churches, and as much among the *Brownists* and *Independents* as any other, that many who at first have been taken for truly regenerate, have thereafter fallen to such errors in judgement and such practices in life, as have given just ground to conclude the irregeneration of some, and to doubt the regeneration of others? Now, if the uncertainty of regeneration, be a just cause to hold a man out of all Churches, is it not as just a cause to cast a man out of a Church, when by doctrine or life, this uncertainty appears, which at first was covered? yet none of our Brethren affirm that the uncertainty of regeneration, nor the certainty of irregeneration is a just ground to cast any man out of the Church who once is come in. The consequent also runs wide of the rigid Separatists; for the holinesse they require, is expressly externall, which may stand with the internall wickednesse of hypocrites: but the consequent speaks of inward sincerity contradistinguished from all outward professions.

The Minor is the part of the Argument which they labour to fortifie, knowing the greatest weight to lie upon it: We do deny it as a very dangerous error; every member of a visible Church is not in truth and sincerity a Believer and Saint: This is against Scripture and all experience in every visible Church; all who are called are not chosen: In the field of God there are tares among

But the minor  
is the most  
faulty part of  
the Argument.

the wheat, in his fold goats amongst the sheep, in his net bad fishes among the good, in his house vessels for dishonour, not for honour only. In the best Churches of the Scripture, we have too many bad members, *Indas, Ananias and Saphira, Simon Magus, Hymeneus and Philetus, Demas* and the like; They dare not deny but some gracelesse hypocrites are in their best Congregations; and if they should deny it, the frequent out-breaking of their enormities to the eyes of the world would extort their confession.

The proofes of  
the minor are  
answ. ed.

The first.

The proofes they bring, come not up to the Question; that in the first of the *Corinthians*, first and second, *sanctified in Christ, and called to bee Saints*; if yee understand it of an outward calling alone, it is not pertinent; if of an inward efficacious call, it is true not of every member, but of some onely, and is attributed to the whole Church of *Corinth* indefinitely, because of these some, who truly were elected, justified, and sanctified; but that this was not true of all and every one of that Church, is cleare by the Apostles complaint of many among them; of some for Incest, of others for injurious defrauding of their neighbours, of some for carnall Schismes, of others for prophane drunkenness at the Lords Table it selfe, of others for fundamentall errors.

The second.

The first of the *Gal. 2. v.* hath nothing sounding toward the present question; but the fourth verse is brought by the *Brownists* to something neare it; that Christ had dyed for the *Galatians* finnes and separated them from this present evill world; if this import any true grace, yet it may not bee applyed to every member of that Church; for in the words following, the Apostle beareth witness that sundry of them were removed to another Gospel; that they were foolish and bewitched to rebell against the truth.

The third and  
maine proof of  
the minor.

The relation of the Church to the persons of the Trinity, that it is the body and Spouse of Christ, the Temple of the holy Ghost, the sonnes and daughters of the Father, must be understood as many such priviledges, of the universall and invisible Church; or when any of them are to be applyed to a particular visible Church, they must be understood of that Church not according to every one, but only the living and gracious members thereof. That such priviledges of the Catholicke invisible Church when they are applyed to a particular visible Congregation, are to be understood according to this distinction of members, *Robinson*  
him

him selfe while yet in his rigid separation, grants it expressly.

The places thus expounded, prove not the point; for grant to every Congregation so high priviledges as you will, yet if they must be verified of that Congregation only according to some members, and not according to all; if they be to be understood only of the Elect in that Congregation who have the sanctifying Spirit of Christ, not of many others who are dead in nature, and yet are such members who have right from God according to our Brethrens own Tenet, to perform Church acts, such as are the preaching of the Gospel, the celebration of the Sacraments, the admission of members, the execution of censures, with such authority from Christ, as makes all these acts truly valid for the comfort and salvation of the Elect; they prove not the true grace of every person whom we must acknowledge to be a true member of a Church.

If you will extend these places to every singular member of particular visible Churches, as indeed the Argument if it have any strength, doth import, the absurdity will be great; for so it will carry to the *Pelagianisme* of *Arminius* in the extent of the true grace of God beyond the Elect, to all the members of a visible Church; also to the totall and finall Apostacy of many who are the Temples of the holy Ghost, the members of Christ, the faithfull and sanctified children of God: For the Argument maketh every member of any visible Church to be such & daily experience proves that many members of every visible Church are castawayes.

Yea, the Argument drives further then any of the *Arminians* will follow; for however, they extend the true and saving grace of God beyond the Elect members of a Church, yet none of them ever said that this sanctifying and saving grace must be in every person before they can bee admitted members of any Church; For this is that grosse errour which the *Independents* have learned not so much from *Arminius* as *Socinus*, to put all men unconverted without the Church, that in this condition they may be converted by the preaching of private men, and if by Pastors, yet by their Preaching, not as Pastors, but as private men dealing with these who are none of their Flock, but without the Church.

Neither doe the *Socinians*, so farre as I know extend their Tenet thus farre, as to require all before they be members of the Church, to be truly regenerate, as if the only instrument of re-

This driveth  
to universall  
grace and A-  
postacy of the  
Saints.

Yea, to *Socini-  
anism* and fur-  
ther.



generation and conversion, were the preaching of private men without the Church: and the preaching of Pastors within the Church, did serve only for the continuing of the sense of justification and the encrease of sanctification, as being performed of purpose only unto these persons who at their first entrance into the Church while yet they were without and but comming in, have demonstrate the certainty of their enjoying these graces.

His second  
Argument,

The second Argument. God receives none to be members of the visible Church, but those who shall be saved; but the Stewards of Gods house may receive none but whom God doth receive: *Ergo*, the Stewards of Gods house may receive none to be members of a visible Church but those who shall be saved.

The Conclusion  
is faulty.

Answer. The Conclusion is subject to the most of the faults observed upon the conclusion of the former Argument, which I doe not repeat; only consider that this conclusion beareth expressly that none may be members of a visible Church but these who shall be saved, and so who are truly Elect. We would not be deceived with their distinctions of inward and outward holiness, of seeming and reall grace, of charitable and veritable discerning; for this and the other Argument inferres flatly that no other must be received as members in a visible Church but such as first are tryed and found to be really holy, and who shall be saved.

The minor is  
false.

Its prooffe is  
unsufficient.

We Answer therefore to the Minor, That it is evidently false for the Reasons which we brought upon the Minor of the former Argument. The place of the *Acts* brought for the prooffe of it is detorted; such as were to be saved were added to the Church; is this indefinite proposition to be understood universally, that all who were to be saved were added to the Church? the former Argument maketh this no necessary truth; for if men must be justified, sanctified, and put in the way of salvation before they be added to the Church, then though they were never added to the Church, they may well be saved.

They would doe well here to remember their own ordinary practice, contrary to that which here they profess to be the way of God. Why doe they not adde to their Church all that are to be saved? why exclude they many whom they grant to be truly gracious and Elect, upon this ground alone that they cannot approve of their *Independency* or Covenant?

Or

Or suppose the proposition to be universall ; yet, must it be reciprocal and convertible? Be it so, that all who were to be saved, were added to the Church : yet, must all who are added to the Church be saved? This is an evident untruth. Will they that all the members of their Church must be saved? or doe they think that all the persons of their Churches who shall not be saved, were never true members of their visible Church? *Indus* was made a member of the Apostolick society by Christ, and many men were brought into the visible Church by the Prophets and Apostles, who shall not be saved. Shall damnation and want of true grace cast them all out of the true Church, and take from them their power and right, to do the actions of a Church-member?

The third Argument. If it be put in any forme, will readily fall under the exceptions of the first ; but since the Author puts no forme upon it, I shall only consider its matter. It consists of the misapplication of three Scriptures, first of *Peters* Confession, *Mat h. 8.* they alledge that such a profession of Faith as the Father reveals to particular persons, is the ground of a visible Church, and so who ever is a member of that Church, must both professe Faith, and have the Spirit to indite that profession.

His third Argument.

*Peters* Confession much mis-applied.

Answer, This is a strange Argument. For first, we may not admit that the Church founded upon the Rock is every particular visible Church: The priviledges of the Catholike and visible Church, which the Iesuites by all their wrestlings have never been able to extort from us for their Idoll of *Rome*, shall we throw them away upon every Independent Congregation? how unstable Rocks these Congregations are, and how easily by small tentations shaken in pieces, themselves may remember.

Secondly, the Rock whereupon the Church is builded, is Christ, whom *Peter* did confesse; we may not make any mans profession, were it never so cleere and never so zealous, the foundation of the Church in such a fashion, that the ignorance or hypocrisie of any man may remove the foundation of any Church.

Thirdly, shall no man be a member of a Church, till the holy Ghost dictate unto him such a confession of Faith as he did unto *Peter*? if none but the Elect and those who are filled with the holy Ghost, may be members of Churches, the *Anabaptists* have won the field. However, what here is alledged, is not true of *Peter* himselfe

himselfe who long before that confession was a member of the Church.

The guest  
without the  
wedding-gar-  
ment more  
mis-appl ed.

The second place mis-applied, is the reproofe of the guest for his comming to the Lords Feast without the wedding-garment; whereupon is inferrd the duty of the Church to hold out all who want the wedding-garment of true grace. *Ans.* This conclusion is not only beside, but against the Text, vers. 9. 10. the servants are commanded to invite as many as they could finde both good and bad; they had no commission to hold-out any for want of the wedding-garment, for that garment was within upon the soule unperceptible by any but his eye who searches the heart and the reynes. The Apostles in their search went not beyond a blamelesse profession; and experience may reach our Brethren, that themselves are able to reach no farther, finding after all their triall so many in their purest Congregations whom time declares to want that garment.

The parable of  
the Tares is  
thrown against  
its principall  
scope.

The third place mis-applied, is the parable of the Tares, as if the Tares came into the Church by the sleepinesse of the servants. *Ans.* This also is a bold addition to Scripture: it is not said, while the servants slept, but while men slept, noting no negligence in men who did sleep when it was seasonable and necessary for them to sleep; but only the secret and dark time of the night, or the secret, dark, and imperceptible way of Satan his working in hypocrites, and corrupting the Church. However, this part of the parable is no wayes argumentative; for Christ in his full application toucheth not at all upon this circumstance; but the maine scope of the parable declareth to us the nature of the visible Church upon earth, contrary to the argument in hand, That Christ doth not intend to have upon earth any Church wherein the Tares shall not be mixed with the wheat; for if he did not finde in his wisdom the expediency of this administration, hee could in his power easily alter or prevent it.

His fourth ar-  
gument, that  
all who cannot  
demonstrate  
the truth of  
their regene-  
ration, deny  
the power of  
godlinesse, is  
not true.

Their fourth argument is drawn from the second to *Timothy*, 3. 5. *who have a form of Godlinesse, but deny the power of it, from such we must turne away.* Ergo, who are not found to have positive and satisfactory signes of regeneration, ought not to be admitted members of any Church. *Ans.* The consequent is naught; for the strength of it will lie in this proposition, Every professor



professor who bringeth not demonstrative signes of his regeneration and true grace, is a man who hath the forme of godlinesse and denyeth the power thereof. How false this is, both the Text and our Brethrens practise will evidence. The Text puts it out of doubt, that the men whom the Apostle calls the denyers of the power of godlinesse, are persons openly scandalous and flagitious, as the verses both before and after doe demonstrate; even such whom the Apostle describes, *Ti. 1.* abominable, disobedient, and to every good work reprobate. Now it is cleare that many professors who are not able to bring out any convincing signes of their regeneration, are notwithstanding free from all scandall; and however many hypocrites can goe beyond them in making faire and satisfactory shewes to men: yet sundry of them may be the elect children of God, and really most gracious in his eyes, how unable or unwilling soever they be to make this much appeare to the world.

Secondly, the men whom the Apostle speaks of, are to be cast out of the Church after their admission; but our Brethren will not cast out all of whose regeneration they are not convinced, after once they are admitted; for if so, Excommunication in every Church would become too frequent.

Their fifth argument is this; No hypocrite, none who at last will leave their first Love, are to be admitted in the Church; for all such will ruine the Church, and procure the removing of the Candlestick: but all that cannot prove their regeneration convincingly, are such. *Ans.* This is a bold and rash argument, laying a necessity to exclude all hypocrites from the Church, and all such as may fall away from any degree of their first love. We answer then that the minor is very false; for many gracious persons farre from hypocrisie and free from all decay of their first love, may be unable to satisfie themselves or others in the certaine truth of their regeneration. But the major is more false, against the practise of Christ and the Apostles, who did alwayes receive divers hypocrites; and our Brethren dare not deny that they do so also; for their Churches consist not all of reall Saints. However the very Text alledged proveth our Tenet; for Ephesus to Christ, there is a most true Church, notwithstanding their fall from their first Love, and his threatning of them with the removall of their Candlestick if they did not repent.

His fifth, that no hypocrite is to be admitted a member of a Church, is a very rash argument.

Unto

His sixth, from  
the roughnesse  
of the stones  
of Solomons  
Temple, is a  
wanton reason

His seventh,  
from the por-  
ters exclusion  
of uncleane  
persons from  
the Temple,  
has no  
strength.

Unto this fifth they subjoyne as appendices, two other arguments taken from the ancient types under the Law. The first, The stones in *Solomons* Temple were not laid rough in the building; *Ergo* men irregenerate must not bee admitted members of a Christian Church. *Ans.* This is a wanton argument; though the Temple might be a type of every Congregation: and the stones of Temple, of the members of a particular visible Church; yet that the roughnesse of the stones should be a type of irregeneration, and above all, that the place of hewing these stones should be a type, and that argumentative, to inferre that the place of our vocation, regeneration, justification and sanctification must be without the Church; and that it is necessary we be like a stone perfectly hewen before wee be laid in the Church building: this is a kinde of Ratiocination which solid divinity will not admit.

The other typicall argument is this; The porters excluded uncleane persons from the Temple; therefore, the Officers ought to keep the irregenerate from the Church. *Ans.* There is no argumenting from symbolick types, except where the spirit of God in Scripture applies a type to such a signification and use.

Where did our Brethren learne to make the porters of the Temple types of the Church-officers. Their people will not bee content to be cheated of the Keyes by such symbolizing. If they will make the Temple a type, not only of Christs body and the Church universall, but of every Congregation; yet by what Scripture will they make legall uncleannesse typifie the estate of irregeneration? And above all, how will they make the exclusion from the Temple for legall uncleannesse, a type of rejection from Church-membership for irregeneration?

Nothing more common then legall cleannesse in a person irregenerate, and legall uncleannesse in a person regenerate. Legall uncleannesse did never hinder any from Church-membership under the old Testament, albeit, for a time it might impede their fellowship in some services; but irregeneration did never hinder communion in any service. It is a question whether very scandalous sins did keep men ceremonially clean from the Temple and Sacrifices; but out of all doubt irregeneration alone was never a bar to keep any from the most holy and most solemn services, whether of the Tabernacle or Temple.

There

There are two other arguments couched in the conclusion of the debate. First, from the 3 of *Matth. Iohn* the Baptist excluded the Scribes and Pharisees and the profane people from his Baptism; *Ergo*, the officers and body of the people should not admit irregenerate people to be members of the Church. *Ans.* The consequence is not good from *Iohn* the Baptist to all the officers and body of the people, nor from Baptism or any Sacrament to Church-membership, nor from the Scribes, Pharisees and profane people, to every irregenerate person: what looseness is in such reasoning? But the worst is that the antecedent is clearly against the places of Scripture alledged. *Iohn* the Baptist did not exclude either the Scribes or the Pharisees or the common people from his baptism, but received all that came, both the Scribes and Pharisees, and Ierusalem, and all Judea, and all the region about Iordan, requiring no other condition for their admission to his Sacrament then the confession of sinne and promising of new obedience, acts very feasible to irregenerate people.

His eighth, that *Iohn* the Baptist excluded the Pharisees and people from his Baptism, is expressly against the Text.

His last argument is from *Acts 8. Philip* admitted none to his baptism but upon profession of Faith. *Ergo* none should be admitted members of a Church without an evidence of their regeneration. For shortness I mark but one fault in the consequence, yet a very grosse one, That profession of faith is made a certain argument of true grace and sanctification. Will any of our Brethren be content to admit their members upon so slender teatms as *Philip* or any of the Apostles did require of their new converts? Will the profession that Iesus is the Christ, or such a confession of faith as *Simon Magus* and all the people of *Samaritan* men and women, after a little labour of *Philip* among them, could make, be an evident and convincing signe of regeneration?

His ninth, that *Philip* required the Eunuchs confession before baptism, infers not the conclusion.

Thus we have considered all *Mr Cottons* arguments: let any man according to his conscience, pronounce what strength he findes in any of them; whether or not in them all together there be such firmness as to sustaine the unspeakable weight that is in the conclusion builded upon them; I mean a necessity of separation from all the Reformed Churches except these of the Independent way: I may adde, from them also and all else that ever have been in the world from the beginning to this houre; for in none of them these hard conditions of satisfactory evidences of regeneration before persons can be admitted members, were ever so much as required;

All his nine or twelve reasons put in one will be too weak to beare up the weight of his most heavy conclusion.



and among the *Independents* where these conditions have been required, they were never found, nor possibly can be found as they doe require them.

## CHAP. VIII.

## Concerning the right of Prophecyng.

The state of  
the question.

**T**He second question I propounded, concerneth the dogmatick power, so to call it, of their Church-members. They teach that the power of prophesie or publike preaching both within and without the Congregation, belongeth to every man in their Church who hath ability to speak in publike to edification. The Reformed Churches give this power only to Pastors and Doctors who are called by God and the Church to labour in the Word. They do not deny to every Christian all true liberty in private as God gives them occasion, in an orderly way to edifie one another, nor do they deny to the sons of the Prophets who are fitting themselves for the pastorall charge, to exercise their gifts in publike for their preparation and triall; but publike preaching they do not permit to any who are not either actually in the Ministry or in the way unto it.

The first au-  
thors of this  
question.

The *Socinians* and *Arminians*, the better to advance their design of everting the publike Ministry, do put it in the hand of any able man to preach the Word and celebrate the Sacraments. The *Brownists* upon the mistake of some Scriptures, give liberty to any of their members whom their Church thinks able to preach.

The *Independents* differ-  
ence among  
themselves  
here anent.

Mr *Cotton* and his Brethren in *New-England*, did follow for a long time the *Brownists* in this practise; yet of late feeling as it would seem, the great inconveniency of this liberty of prophecyng, they are either gone or going from it; for in their two last books, The way of their Churches, and the Keyes, they not only passe this popular Prophecyng in silence, but also do evert the chiefe grounds whereupon before they did build it; our Brethren here of *Holland* and *London*, seem not yet to be accorded about it; these of *Arnhem* did to the last day of their Churches standing maintaine it; their gentlemen preaching ordinarily in the absence of their Ministers; but at *Rotterdam*, Mr *Bridge* would never permit it; yet Mr *Simpson* thought it so necessary an ordinance, that the neglect of it was the

the cheife cauſe of his ſeceſſion from Mr *Bridge*, and erecting a new Church; neither ever could theſe two Churches be united till after both Mr *Bridges* and Mr *Simpſons* removall; their Suſſeſſor did find a temper in this queſtion, permitting the exerciſe of prophieſie, not in the meeting place of the Congregation, but in a private place on a week day; our Brethren at *London* are for this exerciſe, not only upon the former grounds, but eſpecially to hold a doore open for themſelves to preach in the Pariſh-Churches where they neither are nor ever intend to be Paſtors, only they preach as gifted men and Prophets, for the converſion of theſe who are to be made members of their new Congregations.

The reaſons we bring for our tenet, are theſe. Firſt, Who ever have power to preach the word ordinarily, have alſo power to baptiſe. But only Miniſters have power to baptiſe: *Ergo*, only Miniſters have power to preach the Word ordinarily. The Minor how ever the *Arminians* and ſome few of the late *Browniſts* deny, yet all the *Independents* grant it; but they deny the Major, which we prove by two Scripturall reaſons; firſt, Chriſt conjoyns the power of baptiſm with the power of preaching; *Ergo*, who have the power of preaching have alſo the power of baptiſing, which Chriſt hath annexed to it, *Matth. 28. 19. Go and teach all Nations, baptiſing them.* Their Reply that Chriſt ſpeaks here of Apoſtles and not of ordinary Miniſters, is not ſatisfactory; for he ſpeaks both of Apoſtles and ordinary Miniſters becauſe of ſuch officers who were to remain in the Church unto the end of the world, and with whoſe Miniſtry he was alwayes and ever to be preſent as it followeth in verſe 20. But the Church from that time to the worlds end, was not to be ſerved by Apoſtles only, who ſoon after were removed, but by ordinary Paſtors alſo, the Apoſtles Suſſeſſors. Moreover, there is no reaſon for the connexion of baptiſm and Preaching in the perſon of the Apoſtles that will not hold as well if not better in the perſon of ordinary Miniſters.

Our other prooſe of the major, is this. The power of preaching is more then the power of baptiſme; *Ergo*, who have the firſt, have the ſecond alſo. The antecedent is manifeſt from *1 Cor. 1. 17. Chriſt ſent me not to baptiſe but to preach*; to intimate the excellency of the one above the other; the Apoſtle declares not only his ſeldome practice of the one, but denyeth his commiſſion for it in compariſon of the other.

The ſecond Argument; Who ever have power to preach are ſent of God

That none but Miniſters may ordinarily prophieſy, we prove, it firſt by Chriſts joyning together the power of baptiſm and the power of preaching.

Secondly, theſe that preach, muſt be ſent to that Work.

God to preach. But, theſe who have no office in the Church are not ſent of God to preach, *Ergo*: They that have no office in the Church have no power to preach. The major is grounded on *Rom. 10. 15. How ſhall they preach except they be ſent?* The minor may be proved, not only from the nature of the thing, the calling of God to preach, and a mans ordinary preaching on Gods call importing an office and charge to do ſuch a work: but alſo from the place in hand compared with its fountaine, whence it is derived *Iſay 52. 8. Thy watchmen ſhall lift up the voyce*, where it is cleare that theſe whom the Lord ſends to preach are watchmen, from whoſe hand the blood of them, that die without warning will be required, *Ezeck. 33. 6. Who watch for the peoples ſoules as they who muſt give an account*, *Heb. 12. 17.* which is not true of any man who hath no charge.

Thirdly, every ordinary preacher labours in the Word and Doctrines.

Every ordinary preacher labours in the word and doctrine; no man out of office labours in the word and doctrine; for labouring in the word and doctrine, is the character and ſpecifick difference of the Paſtor and Doctour, whereby they are diſtinguiſhed from the ruling Elder, *1 Tim. 5. 17.* This character and form of the prime Officers cannot be given to men out of all office. The major is proved from the very terms of the propoſition, for no man can acquire an ability to preach ordinarily the Word in the Congregation and to exerciſe that gift for the Churches edification without great and conſtant labouring in that Word.

Fourthly, none out of office have the gift of preaching; for all who have that gift are either Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Prophets, Paſtors, or Doctours, and all theſe are officers.

Fourthly, Every Preacher of the Word hath gotten a gift from Chriſt for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Miniſtry, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt; but, no man out of office hath gotten ſuch a gift; *Ergo*. The major they do not deny, for they make the ground of their Prophets preaching to be their gift to edifie the Church. The minor thus we prove, Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Prophets, Paſtors and Doctours, are not out of office. But, all who have received ſuch gifts, are Apoſtles, &c. *Ergo*, none who have received ſuch gifts are out of office. The major none will deny; the minor is grounded on *Ephes. 4. 8. & 11.* where there is a perfect enumeration of all the teaching gifts which Chriſt gave to the Church for edification; of theſe are reckoned up only five, Apoſtles, &c. and to Gods perfect numbers men may not adde.

Fifthly, no man out of office might ſacrifice.

Fifthly, It was unlawfull for men out of office to ſacrifice; *Ergo*, it is unlawfull for men out of office to preach. The conſequencelieth in the parity of preaching to ſacrificing, the one being as great an honour.



honour if not a greater then the other; for I ſuppoſe it will be granted that the Sacraments of the New Teſtament are in many reſpects more excellent then the Sacrifices of the old. Now preaching as we have proved before, is more excellent then baptiſm, a Sacrament of the New Teſtament. The antecedent is proved from *Heb. chap. 5. v. 3. 4. 5.* *No man taketh this honour to himſelfe, viz. to offer up Sacrifices, but he that is called of God as was Aaron; ſo alſo Chriſt glorified not himſelfe to be made an High Prieſt;* Here it is made unlawfull both for *Aaron* and Chriſt to offer up Sacrifices before they had a calling to be Priests.

Sixthly, Whoever have gotten of God a calling or a gift to preach the Goſpel, they are obliged to keep & encrease their gift, & to improve that calling by giving themſelves wholly to reading, by laying aſide all worldly occupations, & not intangling themſelves with the things of this life; but, no man out of office is thus obliged. *Ergo.* The minor they grant, for they will not have their Prophets to be ſo much in reading as may diſtract them from their worldly Trade and civill occupation: The major is proved from *1 Tim. cha. 4. ver. 13. 14. 15.* where *Timothy* is commanded to keep his gift of preaching by the meanes named. The reaſon is alike to all that have that gift, whether they have it by Propheſie, & laying on of the hands of the *Presbytery* as *Timothy* had it, or any otherwayes: for the gifts of God however gotten, muſt not bee neglected, and the meanes preſcribed of God for the entertaining of theſe gifts may not bee ſlighted, leaſt of all by them in whom the gift is but mean and ſmall; they of all others have moſt need of the ſtrongeſt meanes to make their ſmoking flax to burn: beſide, publick preaching is a faculty of that nature, that all the reading and attendance which any man can beſtow upon it, will have enough ado to ſupport and entertaine it in any uſefull and edifying condition.

Seventhly, None may lawfully preach but ſuch as the Apoſtles appointed to preach. But, the Apoſtles appointed no man out of office to preach. The minor alone is questionable; which thus we prove. The Apoſtles appointed no others to preach but Elders; *Ergo*, none out of office. The antecedent we have from *Titus 1. 5.* *That thou ſhouldeſt ordaine Elders in every City as I had appointed thee.*

Eighthly, the permitting of private men out of office to preach, is a great meanes of confuſion in the Church and breeding of errors and ſtrife; *Ergo*, its not of God. The antecedent is made too cleare

Sixthly, all who have from God the gift of preaching are obliged to lay aſide all other occupations and attend that work alone.

Seventhly, the Apoſtles appointed none to preach but Elders.

Eighthly, the preaching of men out of office is a means of confuſion and error by rout.

by daily experience; the conſequence is builded upon the nature of God who is a God and Author of truth and order; what is from him, is conduceable to theſe ends, not to the contrary.

The contrary Arguments which Mr Cotton in his Catechiſm and Answer to the 32 Questions, borrows from *Robinson*, are; First, in the Church of Corinth men out of office did Prophecie. Ans. theſe men were officers or their preaching was extraordinary.

The opposite Arguments are many. *Robinson* while yet he was, as I ſuppoſe, in the height of his Separation, did fill a whole book with them; the beſt of theſe Arguments whereupon our Brethren are pleaſed to pitch, be theſe following. First, in the Church of Corinth, men out of office did ordinarily preach in the Congregation; Ergo, it is lawfull to doe ſo ſtill. Ans. We may either deny, or diſtinguiſh the antecedent: They that preached in the place alledged, were Prophets, and ſo not out of office. Secondly, they who preached there, were men endued with extraordinary gifts, whoſe practice can be no pattern to the Churches now a dayes, where theſe gifts are ceaſed. That it is ſo, verſ. 30, makes cleare, where the Prophets doe preach extemporary Revelations.

Alſo Mr Cotton himſelfe in his laſt book of the Keyes, p. 20, doth grant this, and expreſſly recals what himſelfe in his Catechiſm, and both he and his Brethren in their Answer to the 32 Articles, had delivered about propheſying. This ingenuity is amiable, and if it might pleaſe God to bring our Brethren off the other points of *Browniſme* as fairely, there might be hope quickly of an happy Accommodation.

Secondly, *Iehoshaphat* and his Princes did preach; Ans. The Kings exhorting of the Levites to doe their duty and the Princes countenancing of them therein was not properly preaching.

Their ſecond Argument. *Iehoshaphat* and his Princes did preach the word. But, *Iehoshaphat* & his Princes were not Church-officers; Ergo, ſome who are no Church-officers, may preach the Word. Ans. We deny the major; for that which is recorded of *Iehoshaphat*, *Chro. 2. 19.* was nothing but the Kings exhortation to his ſubjects, to ſtirre up the Levites and Iudges to a faithfull diſcharge of their office; this was no expoſition of the Law, nor any diſpenſing of that knowledge which the Priests lips were appointed by God to preſerve; What is ſpoken of his Princes preaching, *Chron. 2. 17, 6.* beſide that it was but once in the time of an extraordinary Reformation, the way of that teaching is expounded in the following words, not to have been by themſelves, but by the Levites who carried the Book of the Law, they only did preach; the Princes accompanied them, and by their Civill authority countenanced and aſſiſted them in their preaching. That thus it was, Mr Cotton confeſſeth in the above-mentioned place of his *Keyes*, avowing that in the Church of *Iſrael* none did preach either in the Synagogue or



or Temple, but Priests and Levites, except they had an extraordinary call to Propheſy.

Thirdly. What we are commanded to regard is lawfull. But, the preaching of men out of office we are commanded to regard, *1 Theſ. 5. Deſpiſe not propheſying.* *Anſw.* We deny the prooſe of the minor; for the propheſying ſpoken of by the Apoſtle is not the preaching of men out of office, but either of ſuch extraordinary Prophets as were in the Church of the *Corinthians* and other Churches in thoſe primitive times, or elſe of ordinary paſtors who oft in Scripture are called prophets, *Mat. 11. 9. He that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, ſhall receive a Prophets reward; a Prophet is not without honour but in his owne Countrey.* A Pagan poet by the Apoſtle is called a Prophet. *Rev. 18. 24. In her was found the blood of the Prophets and Saints; and 22. 9. I am thy fellow-ſervant, and of thy brethren the Prophets.*

Fourthly, our Brethren of *New-England* bring no more arguments. The reſt of *Robinsons* ſtuffe is not ſo conſiderable: he reaſoneth thus; The ſons of the Prophets did preach, *1 Sam. 15. 5. 2 Kings 2. 7.* alſo *4. 1.* But, the ſons of the Prophets were men out of office. *Anſw.* The major is not proved by the places alledged; for the firſt ſpeaks of the Prophets, but not of their ſons; the other two ſpeak of the ſons of the Prophets, but nothing of their preaching: yet we do not deny the major; for we think it may be proved from other Scriptures; but we deny the minor, That the ſons of the Prophets were men altogether out of office; for their call from God, and appointment by the Prophets to wait on that ſervice, did give them ſuch a beginning and entrance into the office of a Prophet that made them capable of an initiall exerciſe of their begun gifts: ſo we deny not in the New Teſtament, to men who are deſtinate to the Miniſtry and in their preparations for it, a power to preach for attaining an habit of that gift wherunto initiall Sermons are a neceſſary means, without which neither the gift nor the calling can be obtained without a miracle.

Fifthly, *Robinson* reaſons thus; All theſe whom we ought to wiſh to be Prophets, may lawfully preach. But, we ought to wiſh all the people of God to be Prophets, *Num. 11. 20. Would God that all the people of the Lord were Prophets, and that the Lord would put his ſpirit upon them.* *Anſw.* We deny the major, becauſe our deſire for the enlargement of Gods honour and the propagation of his truth, that

Thirdly, we muſt not deſpiſe propheſy: *Anſw.* The Apoſtle ſpeaks of the preaching of men in office.

Fourthly, the ſons of the Prophets did preach. *Anſw.* Their designation to be Prophets gave them right to initiall and preparatory exerciſes towards that office.

Fifthly, *Moſes* wiſhed all the people to be Prophets. *Anſw.* But not without Gods calling to that office.

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many more then are, were ſent out to preach and baptize, giveth not to any man either a gift, or a power, or a calling to preach and baptize, till God and man give the calling. *Moses* wiſh was, not that all the people ſhould prophecy, but that all might have the office of Prophets and the ſpirit of God to enable them for propheſying.

Sixthly, the Apoſtles before the Reſurrection did preach. *Anſ.* At that time they were true Apoſtles and did baptiſe.

Seventhly, *Paul* and *Barnabas* were invited to exhort. *Anſ.* they were men in office.

Eighthly, the Scribes and Pharifees did preach. *Anſ.* They were officers and ſate in *Moses* chaire

Sixthly, the Apoſtles before Chriſts reſurrection did preach. But, the Apoſtles before Chriſts reſurrection were not in the office of Apoſtleſhip. *Anſ.* The minor muſt carry that they were men out of all Church office, which is evidently falſe; for beſide that *Mat.* 10. 1. they are called expreſſly Apoſtles at their firſt miſſion; and *Iudas, Acts* 1. 25. is ſaid to have had the miniſtry and the Apoſtleſhip: they did celebrate the Sacrament of Baptiſm, which the adverſary will grant could not lawfully be done by men out of office.

Seventhly, *Paul* and *Barnabas* were invited to preach where they were in no office, and by thoſe who did not know them to be in office anywhere, *Acts* 13. 15. *Men and Brethren if yee have any word of exhortation for the Brethren, ſay on; Ergo,* men out of office may lawfully preach. *Anſ.* The antecedent is falſe, for *Paul* and *Barnabas* were men in office, true Prophets and Apoſtles; their bounds were as large as all Nations. Beſide, a Paſtor in one Church, for the relation he hath to the Church univerſall, upon a lawfull call may preach in any Church. Alſo that the rulers of the Synagogue did not take *Paul* and *Barnabas* for Preachers, is as eaſily deny'd as affirm'd: the ſame both of their preaching & miracles might eaſily have come before or with them from *Cyprus* into *Pſydia*.

Laſtly, the Scribes and Pharifees did expound and preach the law; but, the Scribes and Pharifees were in no Church office; for all the offices of the Church under the old Teſtament, were in the hands of Levites alone: now the Scribes and Pharifees were not Levites but of other tribes. *Anſ.* The minor is falſe; for the Lord tels us that the Scribes and Pharifees were in Church office, that they ſate in *Moses* chaire, and were doctours of the Law. The confirmation is not good; for how will they prove that in theſe times of great confuſion, the Levites alone had all Eccleſiaſtick offices, not only in the Temple about the ſacrifices, but in the Synagogue about the doctrine and diſcipline? Alſo though this were yeilded, yet how will they prove that the Scribes and Pharifees were of any other Tribe then of *Levi*?

## CHAP. IX.

*Whether the power of Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction belongs to the People or to the Presbyterie.*

**T**He next Question concernes the power of Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction to whom it may be due: by Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction is understood the admission of Members into a Church, their casting out againe by Excommunication, their reconciliation after repentance, the Ordination of Officers, their deposition from their charge, the Determining of Questions, the deciding of Controversies and such other acts of Ecclesiastick authority.

Till of late the state of the Question here was very cleare and plaine: the Reformed Churches doe put both the power and the exercise of Jurisdiction into the hand of the Presbyterie, that is, the company of Elders, and Colledge of Church Governours. The Brownists, and after them the Independents did ascribe all these acts to the Church, as well without, as with a Presbyterie: but of late Master Cotton in his Booke of the Keyes and his Brethren in their Synodick meetings of *New-England* have so subtilized, and as to me it seemes, involved the Question with a multitude of new distinctions, that it is very hard to apprehend with any certaintie and clearenesse their meaning, and more hard to reconcile any one with himselfe, much lesse one with another.

They would seeme to differ much from the *Brownists*, they stand not to put them in the Category of *Morellius*, the first Patron of Democracie and popular government in the Church: they professe a midway of government, well ballanced with a prudent mixture of the Officers power with the peoples, giving a part to both, and all to neither: They bring a multitude of distinctions rather to eschew the dint of our former arguments in the darkeness of these Thickets, then to give any light to this very great Question. They insist most on two distinctions, whereby they thinke to answer all we bring against them.

First, they distinguish betwixt a Church Organized or Presbyterated, as they speake, and a Church inorganized and unpresbyterated: the one is a body *Heterogeneous*, a covenanted people with their Officers framed in a Presbyterie; the other a body

What is meant by Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction.

The state of the Question wont to be cleare, the Reformed Churches putting the power and exercise of Jurisdiction in the hand of the Presbyterie alone; the *Brownists*, & *Independents* in the hand of the people onely; but Mr. Cotton & his followers

the other yeare have perplexed the Question with their many Schole distinctions.

If they put the power of Jurisdiction onely in a Church organized and Presbyterated, they fall from much of the *Brownists*, and their own, both doctrine and practise.

*Homogeneous* a people in a Church Covenant without Officers, at least without a Presbytery. They would seeme to plead, or else the distinction is for no purpose, for the power onely of an Organized and a Presbyterated Church. If they would stand to this in earnest, and firmly, we should be glad ; for so they should openly desert, not onely the whole race of the *Brownists*, but all their owne former Writings, practises, and enervate the best of these very arguments they still adhere unto : for if ye will consider what is written by Mr. *Cotton* either in his Catechisme, or way, or answer to the thirty two Questions, or the Arguments that still he insists upon in the *Keyes*, or their generall practise in *Holland* and *New-England* to this day, you will see that they maintaine the Jurisdiction of a Church, as well unpresbyterated, without a Presbytery, without Officers, as of a Church Presbyterated ; for the power of Ordination of Officers, and of their deposition, the power of admitting and casting out of Members, which are the highest acts of Jurisdiction, they ascribe expressly to every Church, whether it have, or want Officers, as its proper and undeniable priviledge.

Their last and best beloved invention of the power of Authority, and power of Liberty, is for no purpose but to involve the Authors in new difficulties.

Their other new distinction, wherein openly they applaud so much one another, as it were contending who should have the glory of its invention, is of a double power, one of Authority, and another of Liberty : ascribing unto a Presbyterated Church the whole power of Jurisdiction and every part of it, both to the Officers of their Presbytery, and to the people in their fraternity or brotherhood ; but, so that the interest of the Officers in every act, is a power of authority which makes that their action only is valid and binding ; but the interest of the people is a power of liberty to concur in these acts of Jurisdiction by an obedientiall, yet a necessary and authoritative concurrence.

This new distinction will not serve their turne, for first, its not applicable to the chiefe acts of Jurisdiction in question : their Ordination of Officers, their admission of Members, are done ordinarily by their people alone, without the concurrence of any Officers, who then are not in being. Secondly, their arguments for the peoples interest in Excommunication, Absolution, and other acts of Jurisdiction, inferre either nothing at all, or much more then that which they call a power of Liberty, or of an authoritative.



ritative concurrence. Thirdly, this distinction involves the Authors in new unextricable difficulties, it makes the Keyes & Sword of Christ altogether inserviceable in common and ordinary cases, wherein they have most neede and occasion to be set on worke.

Not onely according to their former principles, they make every Congregation uncensurable for any possible crime : But by this new Doctrine they confesse, that every Presbytery in a Congregation becomes uncensurable, and that every people of a Congregation becometh incapable of any censure. Yea farther, if the most part of the Presbytery, suppose two ruling Elders joyned together in the greatest heresies and crimes, the whole people with the rest of the Presbytery, suppose the Pastor cannot censure these two Elders ; also if the greatest part of the people should joyned in the greatest wickednesse, yet the whole Presbytery, with the rest of the people that remaine sincere and gracious, cannot censure the wicked. In all these, and divers such ordinary cases, they have no remedy but Separation, and alwayes Separation upon Separation, till their Church be dissolved into so small portions that it cannot by more Separations be farther divided. But let us consider the Arguments upon both sides.

As they went to make their smallest Congregations Independent & uncensurable for any crime, so now by this distinction they divide all their Congregations in two parts, and make every one of these parts Independent also, and uncensurable for any imaginable sinne.

First, we reason thus, The people are not the Governors of the Church, But the acts of Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction belong to the Governors of the Church ; Ergo, The acts of Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction belong not to the people. The *Minor* is cleare from the nature of the very termes ; for Jurisdiction is either all one with Government, or a chiefe part of it : now Government is essentially relative to Governors. The *Major* is proved by many Scriptures, which make the people so farre from being Governors, that they are obliged to be subject and obedient to their Officers, as to them by whom God will have them governed, *Heb. 13. 17. Obey them that have the rule over you, for they watch for your soules as they who must give an account. 1 Tim. 5. 17. Let the Elders who rule well, be counted worthy of double honour. 1 Thes. 5. 12. Know them which are over you in the Lord, and esteeme them very highly in love for their workes sake.* God hath made them Pastors, and the people their flocke ; them Builders, the people the stones laid by them in the building ; them Fathers, the people children begotten by their Ministry ; them Stewards, the people domesticks under their conduct.

For the negative, that the people have no power of Jurisdiction, we reason : First, the Officers alone are Governors, and the people are to be governed.

2. The people have not the Keys of Heaven to bind and loose.

Secondly, whosoever hath the power of Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction, to them the Lord hath given the Keys of Heaven for the remitting and retaining of sinnes. But to none of the people the Lord hath given these Keys. *Ergo*. The *Major* is not controverted. The *Minor* is thus proved. To whom Christ hath given the Keys of the Kingdome of Heaven to retaine and remitte sinnes, they are in some Ecclesiastick Office, They are sent out by Christ, as Christ was by his Father, they have some part of the Apostles ordinary charge ; but these things are not true of the people. *Ergo*. The *Major* is proved, *John*. 20. 21. *As my Father hath sent me, so send I you; and when he had said this, he breathed upon them, and said receive yee the Holy Ghost; whose sinnes yee remitte they are remitted, and whose sinnes yee retaine they are retained.* What was promised to *Peter*, *Mat*. 16. 19. is here performed to him and the rest of the Apostles, and to their Successours in their ordinary Office of Elders : for this was a power necessary for the Church to the end of the world. The *Minor* also is cleare; for these things were not given to all the Disciples, but to the twelve, and to their Successours. What was promised to *Peter*, was not promised to every faithfull person, and to every Orthodoxe Confessour; for so, all and every one should be bearers of the Keys, and Ecclesiastick Officers, which is against the Scriptures of the first Argument.

3. The people are not the eyes, & eares in Christs Body; for so, all the body should be eyes and eares.

Thirdly, to whom these acts of Jurisdiction doe belong, they are the eyes, eares, hands, and principall Members of the Body of Christ : for the eminent persons and Officers of a Church, are compared to these Members, because of these actions. But the people are not the eyes, eares, hands; are not the principall Members of the Body of Christ : for if so, there should be none left in the Church to be the feete, or lesse principall Members: all should become eyes, and hands, and the Church should be made a Body *Homogeneous*, contrary to the doctrine of the Apostle, *1. Cor*. 12. 19. *If they were all one Member, where were the Body? but now are they many Members, and the eye cannot say to the hand I have no neede of thee, nor the head to the feete I have no neede of you.*

4. The people have not any promise of gifts sufficient for government.

Fourthly, Who have a right from God to the acts of Jurisdiction, they have a promise of gifts needfull for the performance of these acts. For a divine right and calling to any worke is backed

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with a promise of Gods prefence, gifts and assistance in doing of that worke; but, the people have no promise of any such gifts. For besides that daily experience declares numbers among the people to be altogether destitute of such knowledge, wisdom and other gifts which are necessary for the performance of these acts of Jurisdiction: The Apostle himselfe teaches that such gifts are not given to all, but to some onely.

Fifthly, That is not to be given to the people that brings confusion into the Church, for the Lord *is the God of Order*. But the putting of the power of Jurisdiction in the peoples hand, brings confusion into the Church, for it makes the feete above the head, it puts the greatest power into the hand of the meanest, it gives power to the Flocke to depose and excommunicate their Pastour. Our Brethren were lately wont to digest with the *Brownists* these absurdities: but now they begin to dislike them, and rather then to stand to their Prior Tenets, they will limit the Minor, asserting that the power of Jurisdiction belongs to the people not severally, but joyntly with their Officers: so that neither they can excommunicate their Officers, nor their Officers can excommunicate them.

But it seemes this new Subtily will not long please the Inventors of it, for as we have saide it makes the Keys of Heaven much more inserviceable for opening and closing then needs must; when it hath taken the keys out of the hand of all others, and put them in the little weake fist of a particular Congregation; it will not permitt them to open or to close the doore, neither to the people, nor yet to the Eldershippe. The Eldershippe cannot remitt, nor retaine the finnes of the Brotherhood, nor the Brotherhood, of the Eldershippe: yea none of the Eldershippe can be censured by all the people, without the consentient vote of the Presbytery, nor any of the people can either be bound or loosed without the consentient vote of the people. In these cases which may be very frequent, The Keys of Christ must be layde aside, and a new key of the *Independents* owne invention, their sentence of Non-Communion, or that much beloved and a little elder key of separation, forged by the *Brownists*, must come in the place thereof; to be used against any or all other Churches, against their owne Church or its Eldershippe, or its Brotherhood, or any Member of either.

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5. The popular government bringeth in confusion making the feete above the head.



6. The people have not the power of Ordination.

Our sixth argument concernes Ordination, a speciall act of Jurisdiction, which all the Independents to this day put in the hands of the people alone, when ever a new Congregation is to be erected : which to them is no extraordinary nor rare case : or when in a Congregation already erected, there is no Presbytery, which among them is frequent. For a Presbytery must consist of more Governours then one, and usually their Presbiteryes exceede not the number of three or foure. At the death of their Minister, suppose one of their two ruling Elders be sicke, or absent, or the two differ betweene themselves : in this case they make no difficulty to cause some of the people out of all office to ordaine a new chosen Pastour ; Against this very ordinary practice we reason.

They have no Commission to send Pastours to themselves, to impose hands to examine their Pastours, to pray publicly and exhort.

Vnto whom the power of Ordination doth belong, they have a Commission from God authoritatively to send Pastours for preaching and celebration of the Sacraments, also to lay hands upon them for that effect; But people have no such Commission. *Ergo.* The *Major*, is the nature of Ordination; for the essence and inward forme of it is the authoritative sending named : the outward Forme and Signe used in Scripture, is imposition of hands. The *Minor* is proved from three grounds; first, that the people however they elect, yet they doe not send; for so they should send to themselves. The Senders, and they to whom the Preachers are sent, should be one and the same. Secondly, an authoritative mission imports a Superiority in the Sender above the Sent; But, the Pastours are over the people not under them. Thirdly, the examples of the New Testament make it evident, that the authoritative sending, and imposition of hands, the signe thereof, were never used by any of the people, but by the Elders onely. *1 Tim. 4. 14. With the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery : 1 Tim. 5. 22. Lay hands suddenly upon no man. 2 Tim. 1. 6. Stirre up the gift of God that is in thee by the putting on of my hands.* So it was not onely at the first sending of men to preach, but in posterior missions to any particular Service of the Ministry. *Acts. 13. 1. There was in the Church certaine Prophets and Teachers, and the Holy Ghost sayd, Separate Barnabas and Saul to the worke wherunto I have called them; and when they had fasted and prayed, and layd their hands on them, they sent them away.* Fourthly, None of the people ordinarily have the gifts requisite for this action, as skill to examine the Minister

nister in all things he must be tried in, a gift of publicke prayer, a faculty to instruct and exhort the Pastour and people to mutuall duties.

Seventhly, That power belongeth not to the people which disableth them both in their Christian and Civill duties. But, the power of Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction doth so. The *Major* is grounded on the nature of all power and all gifts which God doth give; for all are for edification, and none for the hurt of these to whom they are given. The *Minor* may be demonstrated by this, That it layes a necessity upon all the people to attend in the Sabbath day upon the exercise of discipline, which by the very length will make the Sabbath-Service insupportably burdensome: and also will fill the mindes of the people with these purposes which naturally occurre in the agitation of Ecclesiasticke causes, and cannot but cast out of common weake mindes much of the fruite of the preceding worship.

Further, the peoples necessary attendance on all Ecclesiasticke causes, will make the processe in the most causes so prolix, as cannot but robbe the people of that time, which they ought to imploy in their secular callings for getting of bread. For every one of the people being a Judge, must be so satisfied in every circumstance of every action, as to give their Suffrage upon certaine knowledge and with a good conscience: now before this can be done in a few causes of the smallest, and best ordered Congregations much time will be spent: as the Church of *Arneim* found it in one cause alone, though but a light one; and betwixt two onely, even of their cheife and best Members.

Eighthly, That power is not to be given to the people, which brings in the popular government of *Morellius* into the Church: but, the power in question doth so. The *Major* is the common assertion of all the Brethren, that they are farre from democracy, and further from *Morellius* anarchy, and that they are ready to forsake their Tether, if it can be demonstrated to import any such thing. The *Minor* thus we prove, That which puts the highest acts of Government in the hands of the multitude, brings in the popular government: for in the greatest democracies that are or ever have beene, there were divers acts of great power in the hand of sundry Magistrates; but the highest acts of power

7. This power in the people would disable them in their callings.

8. This power of the people would bring in *Morellius* democracy and anarchy in the Church.

power being in the hands of the people alone : such as the making of Lawes, the creation of Magistrates, the censure of the greatest Offendors, these were the sure signes of Supremacy, that gave the denomination to the government. Now we assume that the Tenet in hand puts the highest acts of Ecclesiastick Authority in the hands of the people. For the Ordination and Deposition of Officers, the binding and loosing of Offendours, are incomparably the highest acts of Ecclesiasticke Jurisdiction : These they put in the hand of the people.

That they doe conjoyne with the people the Officers to expound the Law, and declare what is right, and to give out the sentence makes nothing against the peoples Supremacy : for in *Rome* and *Athens* at their most democraticke times, and this day in the States of *Holland*, in all the Provinces and every City, where the people are undoubted Soveraignes, they have their Magistrates and Officers in all their proceedings to goe before them, to declare the case, to take the Suffrages, and to pronounce the Sentence.

As for them who of late have begun to put the whole Authority in the Officers alone, and to give the people onely a liberty of consenting to what the Officers doe decree of their owne Authority, wee say they are but few that doe so, and these contradictory to themselves. Also these same men give absolute Authority to the people in divers cases : further, that liberty of consent they come to call an authoritative concurrence. Lastly, the most of the arguments even of these men, doe conclude not onely a liberty to consent, and to concur, but an authoritative agency in the highest acts of Jurisdiction.

9. This power of the people will draw upon them the power of the word and Sacrament.

Ninthly, They who have the power of Jurisdiction, have also the power of preaching the word, and celebrating the Sacraments, unlesse God in his word have given them a particular and expresse exemption from that imployment. But none of the people have power to preach the word, and celebrate the Sacraments. *Ergo*. The *Major* is built on these Scriptures which conjoyne the administration of the Word, Sacrament and Discipline in one and the same termes : and upon these Scriptures which lay a part of these administrations upon some men, with an expresse exception of another part of them. *Math.* 16. 19. under



under the name of the Keys of the Kingdome of Heaven, is comprehended the whole Ecclesiasticke power of the Word, Sacraments; and Discipline; what there is promised. *Joh. 20.* it is performed in these termes, *as the Father hath sent me, so I send you.* But, *1 Tim. 5. 17.* where this power is separated and distinguished, the one part of Jurisdiction is ascribed to the ruling Elders, with an expresse intimation of their freedome from preaching the Word, and by consequence from celebration of the Sacraments. The *Minor* was that none of the people have power of the word and Sacraments. For the power of the Sacraments, it is confessed not to belong to the people. That the power of preaching the Word, belongeth no more to them, was proved in the former Chapter. None of our Brethren doe ascribe the power of preaching to all the People, but onely to a few of them who are able to prophesie: so the power of Jurisdiction according to the ground in hand, could be ascribed to none of the people but these few Prophets alone.

For the other side, the Separatists and Master *Parker*, in this point as farre wrong as the other, bring many arguments: but I will meddle onely with these which Master *Coston* doth borrow from them in his way of the Churches, and answer to the 32. Questions.

First, from *Math. 16. 19.* he reasons thus. The Power of the Keys is given unto *Peter* upon the confession of his faith. *Ergo*, every Beleever hath the Power of the Keys. Answer. I deny the consequence, for however upon the occasion of his confession the Keys are promised to him: yet they are not promised to him because of his confessing, nor under the relation of a beleever; for if so, then all and onely beleevers should have the full Power of the Keys; but our Brethren will be loth to avow this direct Assertion of *Smith the Schapist*; for they doe not ascribe the Power of the Sacraments to any beleever out of Office, nor any power of the Keys to every beleever: for some beleevers are not Members of any Church, and the Keys are onely for Domesticks. Neither doe they put the Keys into the hands of beleevers alone; for so, *Judas* and many Pastours for want of true fayth could not validly either preach or baptize. The Keys therefore are not promised to *Peter* under the notion of a beleever, but in the quality

First, Christ gave to *Peter* the Keys of Heaven as to a beleever: *Ans.* not so, but as to an Apostle and Elder of the Church.

of an Apostle and Elder of the Church, as is cleared in the paralleled places of *Math.* & *John*, where the gift here promised is actually conferred upon all the Apostles, who all were Elders, and whose Office of opening and closing the doores of Heaven, was to remaine in the Church to the worlds end, not in the hand of every beleever, but of the Governours of the Church joyned in that Presbytery which other Scriptures doe mention.

2. Till the Church replies that the people have power of Excommunication. Answer, The Church here to be told is the Presbytery, and not the people, according to our Brethrens own grounds.

Secondly, they reason from *Mat.* 18. who ever is the Church to whom scandalls must be told, and which must be heard under the pain of Excommunication, they have the power of Church Censures; But the people are that Church. *Ergo.* Ans, we deny the *Minor*, with the good leave of our Brethren: for albeit they are wont to make the people alone without their Officers the Church in this place, proving hence the peoples power of Jurisdiction before they have any Officers, also their power to cast out all their Officers when they have gotten them; yet now they have gone from the *Separatists* thus farre, as to say, that the people alone cannot be the Church here mentioned: but the Church must be the people with their Officers, whom now they will be loth as sometimes to make meere accidents and adjuncts of this Church: for now they hold them for integrall Members, so necessary, that without them no censure at all can be performed upon any.

They goe here a little further, telling us that the Church in this place cannot be the people, though with their Officers; but must be taken for the Officers with the people: because both the Power and the Execution of censures belongs to the Officers alone, though in the presence of the people, and with their consent, and concurrence. They tell us that the Right and Authority of censures is given onely to the Presbytery of governours, in such a manner that the Presbytery can be censured by no others, neither can any other be censured not onely without their consent, but not without their action.

We adde a third steppe, whether our former arguments must draw them, that the Church here meant, must be the Governours alone without the peoples concurrence: for if Excommunication the great act of government, did belong to the people, either by themselves alone, or joyntly by way of concurrence with their Officers, it would follow that the people were either sole governours

governours above their Officers, or joynt governours with their Officers : which albeit our Brethren did hold lately with the Separatists, yet now they will not assert, so much the more as they declare it to be their judgement and practice that the Elders alone without the People, doe meete apart in their Presbytery to heare all offences and to prepare them for publicke Judgement, whence I thus argue.

They to whom offences are to be told immediatly after the two or three witnesses are not heard, They are the Church to whom in this place the power of excommunication is given; but, the Elders alone without the People, being set apart in their Presbytery, are they to whom offences are to be told, &c. *Ergo*, The *Major* is cleare from the Text, for it speaks but of one Church which must be told, and heard under the paine of censure. The *Minor* is their own confession, and practice : and if that meeting of the Elders to whom they tell the offence, for preparation of the processe to their peoples voice, be not the Church here mentioned. Then their ordinary practice of bringing scandalls first to the Presbytery, before they be heard in the Congregation, shall be found not onely groundlesse beside the Scripture, but altogether contrary to the Scripture in hand : for the method here prescribed is that the Church be told when the witnesses are not heard : if therefore that company which is told after the witnesses are contemned, be not the Church : Christs order is not kept, and the Church gets wrong.

Thirdly, they reason from 1 *Cor.* chap. 5. ver. 4. 5. 7. 12. 13. 3. The people of *Corinth* did Judge and Excommunicate the incestuous man. Answer, The Text will prove no such matter.

First, that gathering together might well be of the Presbytery alone, which our Brethren grant most meete in divers preparatory acts to censure.

Secondly, if it were of the whole people which can not be supposed in *Corinth*, where the People and Officers were so many, that the Congregations, as in *Jerusalem*, and else where, were



more then one : yet, suppose that all the people did meete to the excommunication of that wicked man, this proves not that every one who did meete unto that censure, had either the power or the execution of it, more then of the Word and Sacraments to which they did more frequently meete.

Thirdly, the purging out of the old Leaven, and the putting away the man, is commended indefinitely to these unto whom the Apostle wrote, which our Brethren grant cannot be expounded without sundry exceptions. First, none doubt of women and children; againe in the next chapter, it is written indefinitely, you are sanctified, you are justified, your Bodies are the Temples of the Holy Ghost ; this must be restricted to the elect and regenerate, except we will turne *Arminians*.

Everywhere in Scripture indefinite propositions must be expounded according as other Scriptures declare the nature of the matter in hand; so here, the act of purging and putting away, ascribed indefinitely to the Church, must be expounded not of all the Members, but only of the Officers of the Church. For the *Brownists* themselves make not every Member to be a ruler : nor doe our Brethren give the formall authority and power of censures to any other but Officers, ascribing to the rest of the Members only a Liberty of concurrence, so that the next word of Judging is expounded by them of a Judgement of discretion, not of any judicall and authoritative Judgement, which alone is in question.

4. The people of Colosse might censure *Archippus* their Minister. Answer. there is no Word in th's Text of the peoples censure.

Fourthly, from *Coll. 4. 17.* they reason : the people of *Colosse* had power to admonish their Minister *Archippus* to fullfill his Ministry. Therefore the People of any Church have power if neede be. to excommunicate their Minister. Answer. First, That however our Brethren pretend to have come off from the extremity of the *Brownists*, halfe way towards us: yet their arguments drive at the utmost of their old extremities, at no lesse then a power for the people to excommunicate their Ministers. Thus farre the most of their reasons doe carry, if they have any force at all. Secondly, the Antecedent may well be denied, all that the Apostle speaks to the *Colossians* indefinitely, must not be expounded of every one of the people: This precept of speaking to *Archippus*, could not be better performed then by the Presbytery, whereof *Archippus* was a Member. Thirdly, the consequence is invalid

invalid, They might admonish, therefore excommunicate. Every admonition is not in order to censure; it is a morall duty incumbent to every one to admonish lovingly and zealously his Brother, when there is cause: it is a sinne and disobedience to God if we let sinne lye upon any whom we by our counsell and admonition can helpe; but to conclude that we have power to Excommunicate every man, whom in duty wee ought to admonish, is an absurdity which none of the *Separatists* will well digest.

Fifthly, From *Revel. 2. 14. 20.* The whole Churches of *Pergamum* and *Thyatira*, are rebuked for suffering wicked Hereticks to live among them uncensured. *Ergo*, it was the duty of all the Church to censure them. Answer. First, the conclusion is for a power to the people to censure, which our Brethren now deny. Secondly, The Antecedent may be denied; for the fault of that impious Toleration is not laid upon the whole Church, but expressly upon the Angell. Thirdly, the consequence is not good. The whole Church might be reproved for a neglect of their duty, in not inciting and encouraging their Officers to censure these Hereticks; but a reproofe for this neglect, inferreth not that it was the peoples duty to execute these censures: Thus much our Brethren will not avow.

Sixthly. They reason from *Revel. 4. 4.* The foure and twenty Elders sat on Thrones in white Robes with Crownes on their heads. *Ergo*, Every one of the Church hath a power of judging, as Kings with Crownes sitting on their Thrones. Answer, First, the conclusion ever inferres the full Tenet of the *Separatists*. Secondly, the consequence is very weake, except many things be supposed which will not be granted without strong proofes: first, that this Type is argumentative for the matter in hand: secondly, that this place is relative to the Church on earth, rather then to that in heaven: thirdly, that these Elders doe typifie the people rather then the Officers: fourthly, that the Thrones and Crownes import a Kingly Office in every Christian to be exercised in Church censures upon their brethren, more then the white robes doe inferre the Priestly Office of every Christian to be exercised in Preaching the Word and celebrating the Sacraments.

5. The whole Church of *Pergamum* is rebuked for not censuring the Hereticks. Answer, The power of Censure was in the Angels, but the whole Church might be faulty in not incouraging the Angels to doe their duty.

6. The twenty foure Elders sit on Thrones with Crownes on their heads. Answer, This will not prove a regall power of judging in everyone of the people.

7. The *Galatians* must stand fast to their Liberty. Answer, By Liberty here nothing lesse is understood then a power of presence and concurrence in judgement without all power of Authority.

8. The whole Congregation of Israel had power to punish malefactors. Answer. What the people under the Law did in the State, is not a warrant for the people under the Gospel to doe the same in the Church.

9. The people elects their Officers. *Ergo*. they may depose and Excommunicate them. Answer. Election is no act of power, or of Jurisdiction.

Seventhly, They reason from *Galatian* 5.1. 13. the *Galatians* were called unto Liberty, whereto they behoved to stand fast, as to a priviledge purchased by Christ his blood; *Ergo*. Every one of them had a power to cut off their Officers. Answer. This is the Scripture whereupon our Brethren have lately fallen, and make more of it then of any other. I confesse, their reasoning from it seemes to me the most unreasonable throwing of the holy Scripture that I have readily seene in any Disputant. The whole scope of the place carrying evidently a liberry from the burthen and servitude of the Law. Their fattering upon it a new and unheard of sense, to wit, a priviledge of Church censures, without any authority or proper power therein, is very strange: they cannot produce any Scripture where the word Liberty hath any such sense, and though they could, yet to give the word that sense in this place where so clearly it is referred to a quite diverse matter, it seemeth extremely unreasonable.

Eightly, Thus they reason, The whole Congregation of *Israel* had power to punish Malefactors, as in the case of *Gibea*, & in the massacre of *Israel* to the two Tribes & halfe; also the people had power to rescue from the hands of the Magistrates, as in the case of *Jonathan* from *Saul*. Answer. The consequence is null; for the practise of the *Israelites* in their civill state, is no sufficient rule for the proceedings of the Church of the New Testament. Our Brethren would beware of such Arguments, least by them they entertaine the jealousie which some professe they have of their way, fearing it be builded upon such principles as will set up the common people, not onely above their Officers in the Church, but also above their Magistrate in the State: That it draw in a popular government and Ochlocracie both in Church and State alike.

Ninthly, They thus reason. Who ever doe elect the Officers, they have power to ordaine them, and upon just cause to depose and excommunicate them. But the people do elect their Officers; *Ergo*. Answer. The *major* is denied; for first, election is no act of power; suppose it to be a priviledge, yet there is no Jurisdiction in it at all. but Ordination is an act of Jurisdiction, it is an authoritative mission, and putting of a man into a spirituall Office. The people, though they have the right and possession by Scripturall practise of the one, yet they never had either the right or the possession



possession of the other. Secondly, suppose the Maxime were true, whereof yet I much doubt, unless it be well limited, *Ejus est deservire cuius institueret*, that they who give authority, have power to take it backe againe; yet we deny that the people who elect, give any authority or office at all, their election is at most but an Antecedent, *Sine quo non*; it is the Presbytery onely who by their Ordination doe conferre the Office upon the elect person.

Finally, They argue, No act of Jurisdiction is valid without the peoples consent; *Ergo*, to every act of Jurisdiction the peoples presence and concurrence is necessary: Answer. The antecedent in many cases is false; a gracious Orthodox Minister may be ordained a Pastor to a Hereticall people against their consent: an Hereticall Pastor, who hath seduced all his flocke, may be removed from them against their passionate desires to keepe him: but the Consequent is more vitious; where ever consent is requisite, their presence, much lesse authoritative concurrence, is not necessary: all the souldiers are not present at the Counsell of War, and yet the decrees of that Counsell of War can not be executed without the consent and action of the Souldiers: every member of the Church of *Antioch* was not present at the Synod of *Jerusalem*: diverse members of the *Independent* Congregations are absent from many Church determinations, to the which upon their first knowledge they doe agree.

10. The people must be present and consent to every act of Judgement.

Answer, It is not so, and if it were, yet it inferres not their power of Jurisdiction.

## CHAP. X.

*Independencie is contrary to the Word of God.*

God is the Author of the union and dependencie of particular Churches.

**T**HE Divine Wisedome which found it expedient for man before the Fall, not to live alone, hath made it much more needfull for man to live in Society after his weakning by sinne; *Woe to him that is alone, for if he fall who shall raise him up?* The best wits of themselves are prone to errors and miscarriages, and left alone, are inclined to run on in any evill way they have once begunne: But engagement in fellowshippes, especially with the Saints, is a preservative against the beginnings of evill, and a retractive therefrom when begunne. Every gracious neighbour is a Counsellour and Pedagogue, the greater the incorporation is of such, the better is every Member directed and the more strengthened. Hence the goodnesse of God hath ordained not onely the planting of particular men into a small body of one single Congregation, but for the greater security both of Persons and Congregations, the Lord hath increased that Communion of Churches by binding neighbour Congregations in a larger and stronger Body of a Presbytery, or Classis; yea a number of Presbyteries by the same hand of God are combined in a Synode; neither this onely, but for the strengthening of every stone and of the whole building, the Lord hath appointed the largest societies that are possible, the very Church universall and the representation thereof, an *Oecumenick* Assembly. This congregative way is divine; the dissolution of humane societies, especially of Ecclesiasticke Assemblies, must be from another Spirit.

The first we know to have opposed the holy Societies we speake of, were *Anabaptists*, who liking a Catholicke anarchy in all things, and pressing an universall liberty, did strive to cut in peeces all the bands, as of Politicke and *Oeconomick* union whereby Kingdomes and States, Cities and Families did stand, so also of the Ecclesiasticke conjunction, making every person at last fully free from all servitude, and simply independent, or uncontrollable in any of his owne opinions or desires, by any mortal man.

Their

Their first follower among the reformed, was one *John Moreau a Parisian*, who in the *French Churches* did vent the Independency of Congregations from Synods, and the popular government of these Independent Congregations: But his scismatick pamphlet came no sooner abroad then the *French Divines* did most unanimously trample upon it. In their generall Assembly at *Rochell*, most Reverend *Beza Moderator* for the time, and in their next Assembly, Learned *Sadcell* with others, did so fully confute these *Anabaptistick* follies, that thereafter in *France* this evill Spirit did never so much as whisper; only in *Holland*, in the *Arminian* times, it began to speake by the tongue of *Grotius*, and others of his fellowes, who being conscious to themselves of Tenets whereunto they despaired the assent of any Synode, yea fearing to be prejudged in the propagation of their errours by a crosse Sentence of a Nationall Assembly, did set themselves to call in question, and at last to deny the Authority and Jurisdiction of all Church meetings. But when the goodnesse of God in that happy Synode of *Dort*, did crush the other errours of that Partry, this their fansie did evanish, and since in these bounds hath beene buried in Oblivion. By what meanes this *Anabaptistick* roote which neither *France* nor *Holland* could beare, when *Grotius* and *Morellius* did assay to plant it, doth thrive so well in *England*, after *Browne* and *Barrow* with their followers did become its dressers, I have declared at length before.

From them  
*Morellius* and  
*Grotius* learned  
the Tenet.

However the Novelty of the Tenet, the Infamie of its Authours, the evill successe it hath had whereever yet it hath set up the head, doth burden it with so just contempt, that all further audience might be denyed thereto; yet in this impudent and malapert age, where the greatest absurdities will importunately ingyre themselves, and require beleefe as unanswerable and most convincing truths, unlesse in a full hearing their naughtinesse be demonstrate, we are content without all prejudices to reason the matter it selfe from the ground, and to require no man to hate this error for its Authours, or any externall consideration, unlesse it be cleerely showne to be contrary to the revealed will of God.

Laying aside  
all prejudice  
we will reason  
the matter.

The state of the Question hath no perplexitie, if its termes were cleared. The *Brownists* affirme that every Parish Church, that  
Nn  
every

The state of  
the Question  
cleared.



every single Congregation, is Independent from any Presbytery, any Synod, any Assembly : This we deny, affirming the true dependence and subordination of Parochiall Congregations to Presbyteries, and of these to Synods : to which we ascribe power, authority, and Jurisdiction.

Before wee fall to reasoning, let us understand the words, which in this debate doe frequently occurre. First, what is a Parochiall Church, or single Congregation. Secondly, What is its independence. Thirdly, What is a Presbytery, and a Presbyteriall Church. Fourthly, What is a Synod. Fifthly. What is Authoritie and Jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall. We intend no definitions, but such popular descriptions as may make cleare what the parties use to understand by these words.

A particular Church, a Parish or Congregation in this Question, is taken for a company of faithfull people, every one whereof in the face of the whole Congregation, hath given so cleare tokens of their true grace and regeneration, as hath satisfied the minde of all : A company, I say, incorporate by a particular Covenant and Oath to exercise all the parts of Christian Religion, in one place under one Pastor : Our Opposits affirme, that in one Church there must be but one Pastor, assisted indeede with a Doctor, and three or foure Elders, yet no more Pastors but one. They will admit into a Church no more people then commodiously, and at their ease, may convene in one house; how few they be they care not; ten families, or forty persons to them are a faire Church : you have heard that some of their Churches have bene within the number of foure persons.

Independencie is the full liberty of such a Church to discharge all the parts of Religion, Doctrine, Sacraments, Discipline, and all within it selfe without all dependence, all subordination to any other on earth, more or fewer, so thar the smallest Congregation, suppose of three persons, though it fall into the grossest heresies, may not be controlled by any Orthodoxe Synod, were it Oecumenicke of all the Churches on earth.

A Presbytery, as it is called in *Scotland*, or a Classis, as in *Holland*, or a Collogue, as in *France*, is an ordinary meeting of the Pastors of the Churches neerly neighbouring, & of theruling Elders deputed therefrom, for the exercise chiefly of discipline, so farre

as concernes these neighbouring Churches in common.

A Presbyteriall Church, is a company of Professors governed by one Prysbytery, who for the exercise of Religion meete in diverse places, or who have moe Pastors then one.

A Synod, is a convention of Pastors and Elders sent and deputed from diverse Presbyteries, meeting either ordinarily or upon occasion for the affaires that are common to those that sent them.

Ecclesiasticke Jurisdiction, is a right and power, not onely by advice to counsell and direct, but by authority given of God, to injoyne and to performe according to the rule of Scriptures these things which concern the Ordination of Ministers, the deciding of Ecclesiasticall Causes, the determination of Doctrines, the inflicting of Censures, &c. The signification of these words being presupposed, the state of the Question, or minde of the parties, can not be obscure.

The first Argumen for the truth, I cast into this Forme. Every *Independent* Church hath alwayes, and ordinarily, the right of Ordination, and power to lay hands on Pastors. But, no single Congregation, or Parochiall Church hath that right and power. *Ergo*. No single Congregation is an Independent Church. The *Major* is not questioned by the adverse party, for they place the nature of their Independencie in a right and power intrinsecall and essentiall to every the least Congregation of Ordaining, Deposing, Excommunicating, and exercising all acts of Jurisdiction upon all their own Members, as well Pastors as others. I said alwayes, and ordinarily, for we question not now what at some times in some extraordinary cases may fall out to be lawfull and necessary, not onely to single Congregations, but even to single persons: Also the power which our adverse party disputeth for, is not Hypotheticke, which sometimes on supposition of such and such cases belongeth to a Church, but absolute, which is inherent to every Congregation at all times.

That single Congregations are not Independent is proved; first, from the 1 Tim 4. 14. because they have not the right of Ordination.

The *Minor* we prove thus: What is proper to a Presbytery the right thereof belongs not to any single Congregation: But Ordination, and imposition of hands is proper to a Presbytery, as appeareth from 1 Tim. 4. 14. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Prophecie with the laying on of the hands of*

Ordination belongs to the Presbytery.

*the Presbytery.* The Apostle maketh that right proper to the Presbytery, which he will have to remaine in it, and not to be removed therefrom, notwithstanding sundry extraordinary cases which might have excused the removeall of it. For *Timothy* was a Pastor not altogether ordinary, and inferior, but an Evangelist; he had for the ground of his Office the extraordinary call of some Prophets when he was sent out to Preach, *Paul* himself laid hands upon him; notwithstanding all this, that the due and just right of the Presbytery might be proclaimed, the Apostle marketh that the gift, office, and grace of Preaching the Gospell was conferred on *Timothy* by the laying on of the Presbyteries hands.

For the proof of the last *Maior*, we neede not much descant on the Word Presbytery, and the sense of it in the fore-named place, nor to refute the misinterpretations which some make of it, especially they, who under the mis-alleged authority of *Calvin*, would understand not the convention of any men, but the Office of a Presbyter, as if an Office or any accident could have had hands which might have beene laid on *Timothies* head. Passing therefore such digressions, we prove the *Maior* in hand, thus: No single Congregation is a Presbytery, nor any wayes necessarily hath a Presbytery within it selfe; yea if our adverse party may be beleaved, no Congregation can have, at least should have in it selfe such a Presbytery whereof *Paul* speaketh. *Ergo.* What is proper to a Presbytery, the right thereof may not be usurped by any single Congregation. Of the consequence there is no doubt: the Antecedent hath three parts: onely the first is needefull to be proved; but for more abundant satisfaction, we shall assay to prove them all.

No Congregation is a Presbytery.

The first, thus; A Presbytery is a member and part of a Congregation, according to our adverse party (we love not to strive for words, be it so that the meeting of a Minister and Elders governing single Congregations, which we call a Session, as over-Sea it is called a Consistory, may goe under the name of a Presbytery) *Ergo.* No Congregation is a Presbytery. The Consequence is clear, for no member may be affirmed in the *Nominative* of its owne whole, especially *Heterogeneous*: The body is not the head, the finger is not the hand; the doore, or the Window is not the house.

Concerning the second part of the Antecedent, that no Congregation



gregation hath a Presbytery any wayes necessarily within it selfe, this is cleare from the common practise of our adverse party: very oft their Churches have neither Session, nor Pastor, nor Doctor, nor Elder at all; they make not any of the Officers necessary parts of the Church either essentiall or integrall, without the which the Church may not subsist; yea, as the most learned, and most acute Mr. *Rutherford* hath well observed, pag. 272. their grounds take away the necessitie of any Ministry at all. Mr. *Page* tells us that their chiefe and Mother-Church at *Amsterdam*, through the mis-government of their Pastor, Mr. *Can*, hath wanted now for some yeares both a Doctor and Elders and a Session, or Congregationall Presbytery.

No Congregation hath within it selfe necessarily a Presbytery.

But the pith of the Argument is in the third part of the Antecedent, that no single Congregation can have, or (which is all one when we speake of right and wrong) ought to have within it selfe *Pauls* Presbytery. This we prove. No single Congregation may, or ought to have moe Pastors than one. *Ergo*. Neither *Pauls* Presbytery. The Antecedent is the Doctrine of our adverse party. The Consequence leaneth on this Proposition. In *Pauls* Presbytery are more Pastors, which thus is proved: Where there are many layers on of hands on Pastors, there are many Pastors: But, in *Pauls* Presbytery are many layers on of hands on Pastors; for in the alledged place, not one, but many lay on their hands with *Paul* on *Timothy*. The last *Maior* leaneth on this ground, that onely Pastors lay hands on Pastors, so that many laying hands on Pastors, must be many Pastors, and by Consequence, in one Congregation, where there are not many, but one onely Pastor, (yea none at all whensoever by imposition of hands a new Pastor is to be ordained to that Congregation,) the act of Ordination can not be lawfully performed by the proper members of that Congregation.

No single Congregation ought to have within it selfe *Pauls* Presbytery.

That which alone remaineth to be proved, that onely Pastors lay hands upon Pastors, is cleared by an Induction, against which no instance can be brought. 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. Lay hands suddenly on no man. 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. Stirre up the gift of God that is in thee, by the putting on of my hands. *Tis.* 1. 5. I left thee in Crete that thou shouldst ordayne Elders. *Acts.* 13. 1. 3. Certaine Prophets and Teachers laide their hands upon them, and sent them away. *Acts.* 14. 23. They

Onely Pastors lay hands on Pastors.

*ordained them Elders in every Church.* In all these places both the first Ordination, and *posterior* Mission to preach the Gospell, is the Act onely of those who were Pastors, neither else-where reade we that it was otherwise.

The second Argument from the Apostolicke Churches which exercised full jurisdiction, the chiefe whereof, if not all, were Presbyteriall and not Parochiall.

The second argument : Every Independent Church, exerciseth ordinarily within it selfe, by its owne members all acts of Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction. But, this no single Congregation doth ordinarily. *Ergo*, no single Congregation is an Independent Church. Onely the *Minor* is dubious, which we prove thus; Every Church ordinarily exercising all acts of Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction is Presbyteriall : But, no single Congregation is a Presbyteriall Church. *Ergo*. No single Congregation exerciseth ordinarily all acts of Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction. The *Minor* is cleare from the nature of a single Congregation and Presbyteriall Church, as in the stating of the Question both were described. The *Major* is proved by a full Induction of all the Churches which in the New Testament we reade to have had the full exercise of all Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction; that all such were Presbyteriall and not Congregationall; We prove it thus : A Church which cannot all convene in one house for the publicke Service of God, a Church which hath more Pastours then one, is Presbyteriall, not Congregationall, according to the grounds of our Adversaries. But all the Churches we reade of in the New Testament to have had the full exercise of all Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction, did meete in more places for divine worshippe, and had more Pastors then one. This we demonstrate of the cheife, the Church at *Jerusalem, Samaria, Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, Antioch*, neither can a reason be given why the rest of the Scripturall Churches should not be of the same kind.

Such was the Church at *Jerusalem*.

Beginne with the Mother-Church of *Jerusalem*. A company consisting of many thousand persons, and wanting a publicke house of meeting, could not convene into one place for worshippe : for this very day when Christians have gotten most stately and spacious Palaces for Churches, hardly one thousand can commodiously be together for solemne worshippe; and if we looke to the practise of the Adversaries, a few scores of men will be a large Church.

As for the State of the Church at *Jerusalem*. First, It is granted that for many yeares after the Apostles, neither it nor any other company

company of Christians in any part of the world had a publicke place of meeting. Secondly, That this Church did consist of many thousand people, the following places prove *Acts. 2. 41.* *The same day were added unto them about three thousand.* Also chap. 4. 5. *The number of the men were five thousand.* And where there were so many men, if yee looke to the ordinary proportion, there were of women and children twice or thrice so many. Neither did that Church stand at the named thousands, for *Acts. 5. 14.* more multitudes both of men and women were added to the Church, and the number of the Disciples was yet more multiplied, chap. 6. 1. Also that which we reade chap. 2. 47. The Lord added to the Church daily, seemeth to have continued for a long time.

To that which is replied by some, that a great part of the named multitudes were strangers, and not Inhabitants at *Jerusalem*, and so no Members of that Church; We answer, that this is said without warrant. That of the three thousand mentioned in the third chapter, some part were strangers, we will not deny to be likely; but that the most part were so, or that of all the thousands named in the fourth, fifth, and sixth, any one was a stranger, it cannot be proved from the Text.

As for that which they bring from the 2 chap. 44. *All who* How the Church cometh together. *beloeved were together: as if the whole Church had alwayes come to one place for the publicke worshippe.* We say that it was simply impossible for three thousand people, not to speake of twenty thousand and above, to meete in one private house, for they had none publicke, neither did they in the streetes celebrate their Sacraments. So we are necessitated to take the Churches being together, one of three wayes; either for the conjunction of their minds, as the following words doe import (*they continued with one accord in the Temple*) or else their meeting together must be understood distributively in divers places, not collectively in one, as the words in hand will also beare where the celebration of the Lords Supper, and breaking of bread is said to be not in any one house onely but *from house to house*. The Church meeteth in a third way together when not all the members but the Officers with a part of the people convene in a Presbytery as appeareth from the 15 and 21 chapters.

The



The Church of  
Samarita also  
was Presbyte-  
riall.

The case is no lesse cleare of the Church of *Samarita* *Acts* 8. 6. 10. 12. 14. verses the People of that City with one accord from the least to the greatest both men and women did beleeeve, in such a number that the cheife of the Apostles *Peter* and *John*, were sent from *Jerusalem* to assist *Philip* in their instruction. Could this whole City which was amongst the greatest of *Canaan* convene all to Gods worshippinge in one private roome, or be served with one Pastor, who required for a time the attendance not onely of *Philip* but further of two prime Apostles?

So that of  
*Rome*.

Come to the rest. The *Roman* Church was *one Body*. *Rom.* 12. 6. yet so great that it could not meet in one private roome. For in the 16. chap. beside the Church which met in the house of *Aquila* v. 5. there are a number of houses set downe, in which, besides divers Saints named, there were many others also unnamed which worshipped with them, v. 14, 15. So great were the multitudes of Christians then at *Rome* that their fame was spread over all the world. chap. 1. 8. and chap. 16. 19. In the City of *Rome* were many hundred thousand men, the halfe of which according to *Tertullian*, were Christians the age after the Apostles; and a little after *Cornelius* recordeth that more then forty preachers did attend the instruction of that people who yet had no publick place of meeting.

And of *Corinth*.

The same was the case of the Church at *Corinth* at its very beginning, *Acts* 18. 8. It did consist of a multitude both *Jewes* and *Gentiles*; beside all which, God had much people in that City, v. 10. which by the continuall labours of *Paul* for 18 monthes were converted, v. 11, for whose instruction beside *Paul*, *Apollos*, *Timotheus*, a great number of other Doctors attended, 1 *Cor.* 4. 15. not to speake of a multitude of false Teachers; they had also a number of idle and vaine Teachers who kept the foundation, but builded upon it hay, stubble and timber. Could all these meete together in one private place? - unlesse yee would understand their meetings distributively, or for the convention of their Officers with a part of the people for discipline.

And of *Ephesus*.

Also at *Ephesus* was but one Church. For *Acts* 20. 17. *Paul* called to him the Elders of that Church, in the singular; yet that in *Ephesus* there was so great a number of Christians as could not commodiously serve God in one private roome, it seemes most cleare;

cleare; for in that most noble Mart Town *Paul* did preach whole two yeares. *Acts* 19. 10. yea he ceased not day nor night for full three yeares, *cha.* 20. 31. *The feare of God fell on all that people both Jews and Gentiles, and the name of Jesus was magnified, cha.* 19. 19. So great a multitude even of Scholars was converted that the Professors of curious arts alone did make a fire of Bookes to the value of 50000 peeces of silver; so mightily grew the word of God there, *v.* 20. Further, in the Church of *Ephesus* were many Pastors; for *Acts.* 20. 17. *Paul* called for the Elders, not one onely. That divers of these if not all, were Pastors and Doctors, it appeareth from *v.* 28. where they are appointed by the Holy Ghost, to be feeders of the flocke and get a Commission to oppose false Doctors, about the which they went faithfully, as the Lord beareth them witnesse, *Revel.* 2. 2. Now the charge of the Doctrine to try and examine false Teachers, lieth principally on preachers.

This is alike true of the Church of *Antioch*: The hand of the Lord was in the City, and a great number beleevd, *Acts* 11. 21. Thereafter by *Barnabas* labour there was much people added, *v.* 24. yea, by the joynd paines of *Barnabas* and *Paul* for a yeare together, there was such a multitude converted, that the name of Christians was first imposed upon them. Here, as in the Metropolitane City, not onely of *Syria*, but all *Asia*, beside *Barnabas*, *Paul* and other Prophets, *v.* 27. *Peter* also, and many other Doctors had their residence, *Gal.* 2. 11. It were too long to speake of the rest of the Apostolicke Churches, whose condition was not unlike the former.

Also of *Antioch* and the rest.

Our third Argument: No Synod hath authority to impose Decrees upon an Independent Church: But, some Synods have authority to impose Decrees upon particular Churches, whether Presbyteriall or Congregationall. *Ergo*, Particular Churches, whether Presbyteriall or Congregationall are not Independent. The *Maior* is not controverted; our adverse party acknowledgeth the lawfull use and manifold fruits of Synods: They grant it is the duty of every good man, and much more of every Church, and most of all of a Synod consisting of the Messengers of many Churches, to admonish, counsell, perswade, and request particular Churches to doe their duty: But, that any company on earth, even an Oecumenicke Synod, should presume to injoyne with

Our third argument from the subordination of the Church of *Antioch* to the Synod at *Jerusalem*, *Act.* 15.

authority the smallest Congregation, to leave the grossest heresies under the paine of any censure, they count it absurd. Upon this ground, that every Congregation, how small soever, how corrupt soever, is an *Independent* body, and not subordinate to any society on earth, how great, how pure, how holy soever.

The *Minor* thus is proved: The Synod of *Jerusalem* imposed with Authority, her Decrees upon the Church of *Antioch*. *Ergo*, Some Synod; and if you please to make it universall, every lawfull Synod may impose its Decrees upon particular Churches. The Antecedent is to be seene, *Acts 15. 20*. *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay no further burden on you then these things necessary*. The Consequence is good, for *Antioch* was among the chiefe of the Apostolicke Churches; in it *Barnabas*, *Paul*, and other Prophets inspired of God were Preachers: If this Church was subject to the Authority of Synods, what Church may plead a freedome from the like subjection?

Answer to the  
Replies.

Many things are here replied, as usually it hapneth when no solid answer can be brought: The chiefe heads of the Reply are three; First, that the meeting at *Jerusalem* was no Synod. Secondly, What ever it was that it did injoyne nothing, authoritatively to any other Churches. Thirdly, That other Synods may not pretend to the priviledges of that meeting since its Decrees were indited by the Holy Ghost, and stand now in the holy Canon as a part of Scripture.

The meeting  
of *Jerusalem*  
was a true Synod.

To the first, we say, that the meeting at *Jerusalem* is either a true Synod, or else there is no paterne in all Scripture for Synods, even for counsell, or advice, or any other use. But, this were inconvenient; for they acknowledge that Synods are lawfull meanes for many gracious ends in the Church: Now, to affirme that any Ecclesiasticke meeting is lawfull, necessary, or convenient for gracious ends, whereof no patterne, no example can be found in Scripture, were dangerous.

But beside this argument, towards our adverse party, we reason from the nature of the thing it selfe. A meeting consisting of the Deputies of many Presbyteriall Churches, is a true Synod; but, the convention at *Jerusalem*, *Acts 15*. was such a meeting. The *Major* is the essence of a Synod; there are many accidentall differences of Synods; for according to the quantity and number of the



the Churches who send their Commissioners, the Synod is smaller or greater, is Provinciaall, Nationall, or Oecumenicke : according to occasion, the Churches sending Commissioners, are sometime more, sometime fewer, sometime neerer, sometime further off : also according to the commodity of place, and necessity of affaires, they come from one Church more, and from others fewer : all these are but accidentalls, which change not the nature of the thing. Unto the essence of a Synod; no more useth to be required then a meeting of Commissioners from more Presbyteriall Churches. The *Minor* is cleare ; That the Church of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem* were more Churches, no man doubts; that both were Presbyteriall, it was proved before, that from both these Presbyteriall Churches, Commissioners did sit at that meeting, it is apparent from that oft cited, *Acts* 15. Yea, that from the other Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, besides *Antioch*, Commissioners did come to *Jerusalem*, may appeare by conference of the 2. vers. of the 15. chap. with vers. 23. for that with *Paul* and *Barnabas* Commissioners for the time from the *Antiochians*, others also did come, it is certaine : that those others, at least some of them, were Deputed from the Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, it is like, because the Synodick Epistle is directed expressly no lesse to those than to this of *Antioch* ; also those, no lesse than this, are said to be troubled with the Questions which occasioned that meeting. But [to passe this consideration, it is cleare that in the Convention at *Jerusalem* were present, not onely the Commissioners of some few Presbyteriall Churches, but also they whom God had made constant Commissioners to all the Churches of the world, to wit, the Apostles ; their presence made all the Churches legally subject to the Decrees of that Synod, though they had no other but their grand and constant Commissioners to Voyce for them in that meeting.

The second Answer is clearly refuted from the 28. vers. where the Decrees are not proposed by way of meere advice, but are enjoined and imposed as necessary burdens, with Authority, not onely of the Synod but of the holy Ghost.

Concerning the third, we say that the meerely Divine, and more than Ecclesiastick Authority of these Decrees in their first Formation, is not made good from this, that now they stand in

It doth not onely advise but command. The Decrees of that Synod at their first making had onely Ecclesiastick authority.

holy Scripture, and are become a part of the Bible; for a world of Acts meerey indifferent, and which without doubt in their Originall had no more then Ecclesiastick Authority, are Registered in Scripture. Was the Presbytery of *Lystraes* laying on of hands on *Timothy* any other then an act of Ecclesiastick Ordination? The Decree of the Church of *Corinth* for the incestuous mans Excommunication, or relaxation after Repentance, was it any more then an act of Jurisdiction meerey Ecclesiastick? *Pauls* circumcision of *Timothy*, his Uow at *Cenchrea*, the cutting off his haire at *Jerusalem*, were free and indifferent actions: The nature of these things, and many moe of that kinde, is not changed by their Registering in the Booke of God. Neither also is the meerey Divine Authority of the Decrees at *Jerusalem* proved by this, that in their first framing they were grounded on cleare Scripture, and after proclaimed in the name of the holy Ghost; for that is the condition of the lawfull Decrees of all gracious Synods. Did not of old the Fathers of *Nice*, and of late the Fathers of *Dort*, through the inspiration of the holy Ghost, who remaineth with the Church, especially with gracious Synods to the worlds end, pronounce from the holy Scripture their Decrees of the Godhead of *Christ* against *Arrius*, and of the grace of God against *Arminius*: Shall we for this cause ascribe to the Canons of *Nice* or *Dort* any greater authority then Ecclesiastick and Humane? Howsoever, that the Apostles in framing the Canons at *Jerusalem* did proceede in a way meerey Ecclesiastick, and farre different from that they used in dictating of Scripture, and publishing truths meerey Divine, appeareth from this; first, that these Canons were brought forth by much Disputation and long discourse, But, Divine Oracles without the proces of humane Ratiocinations are published from the immediate inditing of the Spirit, 2 *Pet.* 1. 21. *The Prophecie in old time came not by the will of man, but the holy men of God spake as they were moved by the holy Ghost.* Secondly, Oracles meerey Divine are published onely in the name of God, *Thus saith the Lord*; but, these Canons are proclaimed, not onely in the name of God, but also in the name of man, *It seemeth good to the holy Ghost, and to us.* Thirdly, The Oracles of God are dictated to the Church by the Ministry only of the Prophets and Apostles, and men inspired with an infallible Spirit

rit, *Ephes. 2, 20. Being built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles.* But, the Canons of that Synod, *Acts 15.* are declared to be the worke, not onely of the holy Ghost, and the Apostles, but also of the Elders, and of all who Voyced to them. So it is cleare, that in the making of these Canons, the Apostles, as else-where oft, did come downe from the eminent Chaire of their Aposto-like, and extraordinary authority to the lower place of Ordinary Pastors, that in their owne persons they might give an example to ordinary Pastors in what manner holy Synods might be rightly celebrated to the worlds end. Had not this been their end, how easie had it beene either for *Paul* or *Barnabas* at *Antioch*, without the toylefome voyage of a long journey to *Jerusalem*, or for *Peter* or *John*, or *James*, or any one of the Apostles at *Jerusalem*, without the superfluous paines of any convention or disputation, as infallible Apostles to have pronounced Divine and irrefragable Decrees of all the matters in question.

Our fourth argument. A Church subordinate is not Independent; but, a *Parochial* Church is subordinate to a *Presbyteriall*: For a lesser Church is subordinate to a greater, as a part to its whole wherein it is contained. Now a *Parochiall* Church is lesser and the least of all Churches; a *Presbyteriall* Church is greater. Of the quantity, that the one is lesser, the other greater there is no doubt; but of the matter it selfe there is question whether there be any such thing as a *Presbyteriall* Church. Now this was proved before and hereafter also will be more cleare; the cheife plea here is against the second major which we prove thus: A smaller number of the faithfull is subordinate by Christ to a greater number of the faithfull. But, a lesser Church is a smaller number of the faithfull, and a greater Church is a greaternumber of the faithfull. The *Major* is proved from the 18 of *Math. v. 15. 16. 17. 18. If thy Brother trespassse against thee, &c.* Here the Lord in admonitions and Church censures institutes a subordination, a gradation, a processe from one to two or three, from two or three to moe. Understand those moe not absolutely and at random but in a society bound together by the orderly ligaments of divine policy, such as we suppose the Churches to be from the smallest to the greatest till you come to the very Church universall.

Here they distinguish the *Major*, granting that in this place a

Our fourth argument from the subordination of fewer to moe, appointed by Christ, *Math. 18.*



subordination is appointed by Christ of fewer to more within the same Church but not without it. We might oppugne the application of the distinction to the Minor, and prove that a Presbyteriall Church is a greater number of the faithfull within not without the same Church; for a Congregationall Church may not unfitly be compared with a Presbyteriall as a part with its whole; especially if you compare the meeting of the Officers which rule the Parish with the Presbytery, these two are not extrinsecall the one to the other; for the Sessions, or Consistories, or Classis, are in the Presbytery which is composed of the Commissioners from Sessions as of its owne and intrinsecall Members.

Christ's subordination is to be extended to the utmost bounds of the Church universall.

But leaving this, we oppugne the ground of the distinction as it lyeth in the Major, breaking the one halfe of it upon the other. The subordination of fewer to more in the forenamed place is established say they within the same Church. *Ergo*, say we, without the same Church, we meane with them without the same *Parochiall* Church: the consequence we prove by three arguments. First, there is a like reason for the subordination of fewer to more without the same Church as within the same; for the cheife reason why the Lord ordaines us in admonitions to proceed from one to two or three, from two or three to a number sitting as Judges in the Session of one Congregation is, because in the admonitions of two or three, more authority, gravity and wisdom are presupposed to be than in the admonitions of one alone: and that a Delinquent is stricken with more feare, shame, and reverence by the faces and mouthes of many who sit as Judges in the name of the whole Congregation, than he would be by the mouth of two or three onely. Doeth not this power, virtue and weight of admonition increase with the number of admonishers, as well without as within the same Congregation? For as the admonition and censure of tenne sitting in the name of one Congregation, hath greater weight then the admonition of two or three of that same Flocke who represent none but themselves; so the admonition of thirty Ministers and Elders representing in a Presbytery fiftene Congregations, whose commissioners they are, shall have more weight then the admonition of ten which represent but one flocke: for it is according to reason, that those thirty Members of the Presbytery should exceede in wisdom, zeale,

zeale, gravity, and other qualities which adde weight to an admonition, these ten which in a Session represent one Congregation, so farre as those ten goe beyond the two or three severall persons of that Congregation.

Secondly, unlesse in this place be established a subordination of fewer to moe, as well without as within the same Congregation, the remedy brought by Christ will be unable to cure the ill for which it was brought. The Lords meanes will be disproportionable and unequall to its end; but this were absurd to say of the wisest of all Physicians. The reason of the *Major* is this, Christ is prescribing an helpe and cure for brotherly offences; now one may be offended by a brother as well without as within the same Congregation: and as well by many brethren as by one; yea, as well may we be offended by a whole Church as by one member thereof: Now, if after the minde of our adverse party, the subordination of fewer to moe might not be extended without the bounds of one Congregation, the Lords medicine were not meete to cure very many ordinary and daily scandals; for what if a man be scandalized by the neighbour Church? To whom shall he complaine? When the Church offending is both the Judge and party, it is likely she will misregard the complaints that are made to her of her selfe. What if a man be scandalized by his owne Church or by the most, or by the strongest part of it? What if that Church to whom he complaineth, take part against Justice and reason with him upon whom he complains? It will be impossible to remedy innumerable offences which daily fall out among brethren, unlesse appeales be granted, and the subordination established by *Christ* be extended, not onely without the bounds of one Parish, but as farre and wide as the utmost limits of the Church universall: for upon this place is rightly grounded by the Ancients, the Authority of Synods even Oecumenick of all the Churches.

Thirdly, the subordination established by *Christ*, *Matth. 18.* is so farre to be extended in the Christian Church as it was extended in the Church of the *Jewes*; for *Christ* there alludeth to the *Jewish* practise. But so it is, that in the *Jewish* Church there was ever a subordination of fewer to moe, not onely within the same Synagogue, but within the whole Nation, and so within the whole.

whole Church Univerſall : for all Synagogues everywhere in the world were under the great Councell at *Ieruſalem*. No doubt of the *Minor*; the *Major* is builded upon this ground, that what ever *Chriſt* hath tranſlated from the Synagogue to the Church, eſpecially if it be of naturall equity, hath as great force now amongſt Chriſtians, as of old among the *Jewes*. Now, that the ſubordination of Synagogues to the great Councell is of naturall equity, it appeareth thus : A Synagogue was the loweſt Eccleſiaſticke Court, the Councell was the higheſt; but the ſubordination of the loweſt Court to the higheſt, is of naturall right; for Nature hath ever dictated to all Nations, as well in things civill as religious, a ſubordination of the loweſt to the higheſt.

Our fifth argument from the evill conſequents, which reaſon and experience demonstrate to follow Independency neceſſarily and naturally.

Our fifth Argument : That which taketh away all poſſibility of any effectuall remedy againſt Hereſie, Idolatry, Schiſme, Tyranny, or any other miſchiefe that wracks either one or moe Churches; is not of God : for God is the Author and conſerver of truth, purity, union, order, liberty, and of all vertue ; God of his goodneſſe and wiſedome hath provided for all and every one of his Churches meanes and remedies, which if carefully made uſe of, are ſufficient to hinder the firſt ariſing of Hereſie, Schiſme, or any other evill: and when they are riſen to beate them downe, and aboliſh them : ſo that what ever cheriſheth theſe miſchiefes, and is a powerfull inſtrument to preſerve them ſafe, that none with any power, with any authority, for any purpoſe, may get them touched, that muſt be much oppoſite to the Spirit of God, and good of the Church : But, ſuch is Independencie, as both reaſon and experience will prove. Behold firſt ſeverall Churches; Suppoſe, which too oft hath falne out, that the Paſtor become a pernicious Hereticke; let him beginne with the venome of his Doctrin to poyſon the hearts of his people, what ſhall be the remedie ? Independency bindes the hands of Presbyteries and Synods. Paſtors of Neighbouring Congregations, have no power to binde, or expell that ravenous wolfe : in the deſtroyed flock there is no Paſtor, but the wolfe himſelfe. Be it ſo that the people in their judgement of diſcretion perceive well enough the wickedneſſe of the falſe doctrin whereby they are corrupted; yet the office, charge, and authority to cure their Paſtors diſeaſe, lyeth not on them. *The Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the*

*Prophets :*



*Prophets:* the Pastor is not to be proceeded against with censure by the people of his flocke; for so the order which God hath established in his Church, should be inverted, if they whom hee hath commanded to obey should rule: and they whom he hath set above and over the flocke, should be under it. Further, Suppose the Pastor to be most gracious, what if the flocke, or the greater part of the flocke become so wicked as to abuse their Pastor, or to abuse the most godly of the Congregation? What if a wicked spirit of Heresie, Schisme, or Tyranny, set the most part of the flocke against God, against their gracious Pastor, and the godly of the flocke, what shall be done in this pitifull, and very possible, yea, oft contingent case? *Independency* closeth the doore of the troubled Congregation, that no man may goe out to cry for any powerfull helpe to neighbours, though their kindled house should burne them all to death; within there is no remedy; for all most goe there by the number of voyces, and the most part oppresseth the best, the most wicked go on against the Councells, the intreaties, the prayers of the rest, and cease not till they have either corrupted or cast out their Pastor, Elders, and all of their fellow-members who are constant in goodnesse, that so their wickednesse without controule may domineere in the whole subdued Congregation. So long as *Independency* standeth, no effectuall authorative or powerfull helpe can possibly be found for the preservation of any single Congregation against ruine and totall subversion.

Further, *Independency* hazards the being of all Churches as well as of every one. For who shall hinder any member of a corrupted Congregation to infect all the neighbour Churches with the poyson of his doctrine and manners? If a ramping Lyon, a viperous Serpent, a crafty Fox should goe and devour all the Lambs of the neighbour flocks; *Independency* doth hinder any order to be taken with that limbe of Sathan, no sword of censure can be drawne against him, he must be referred absolutely to his owne Congregation; other Churches may intreate, advise, and pray him not to make havocke of them: but should he trouble, infect, and destroy twenty, an hundred, a thousand neighbour Congregations, no Ecclesiastick censure may passe upon him but by his owne Church: and when complaints of him come to his

owne Church, his misdeedes there are excused, defended, commended; his Heresies are proclaimed sound doctrine, his devouring of soules is declared to be zeale and painfullnesse to win soules to CHRIST.

Our Argument is backed by experience, as well as by reason; The first Independent Church we reade of, was that company which Mr. *Browne* brought over from *England* to *Middleborough*; how long did it stand before it was destroyed by Independency? when once Anabaptistick novelties, and other mischiefs fell among them, there was no remedy to prevent the companies dissolution. When Mr. *Barrow* and his fellowes, assaied at *London* to erect their Congregation; the successe was no better; their Ship scarce well set out was quickly split upon the Rocks, was soone dissipate and vanished. When *Johnstoun* & *Ainsworth* would make the third assay, and try if that tree which neither in *England* nor *Zealand* could take roote, might thrive in *Holland* at *Amsterdam*, where plants of all sorts are so cherished, that few of the most maligne qualite doe miscarry; yet so singular a malignity is innate in that seed of Independency, that in that very ground, where all weedes grow ranke, it did wither: within a few yeares new Schismes burst that small Church asunder: *Johnstoun* with his halfe, and *Ainsworth* with his made severall Congregations, neither whereof did long continue without further ruptures; Behold who please, with an observant Eye these Congregations which have embraced Independency, they shall finde that never any Churches in so short a time have beene disgraced with so many, so unreasonable, and so irreconcilable Schismes.

Neither the duties of charity, nor the authority of the Magistrate can remedy these evils.

Against these inconveniences they tell us of two remedies, the duties of charity, and the authority of the Magistrate; but the one is insufficient, and the other improper. The duties of charity are but mocked by obstinate Hereticks and heady Schismatics; to what purpose are counsells, rebukes, intreaties employed towards him who is blowne up with the certaine perswasion that all his errors are divine truthes, that all who deale with him to the contrary are in a cleare error, that all the advices given to him are but the words of Satan from the mouthes of men tempting him to sinne against God?

As

As for the Magistrate, oft he is not a Christian, oft though a Christian, he is not Orthodoxe, and though both a Christian and Orthodoxe, yet oft either ignorant or carelesse of Ecclesiasticke affaires; and however, his helpe is never so proper and intrinsecall to the Church, that absolutely and necessarily she must depend thereupon. Now all our Question is about the ordinary, the internal, the necessary remedies which Scripture ascribes to the Church within it selfe, as it is a Church even when the outward hand of the Magistrate is deficient or opposite.

Our sixth and last Argument: That which everteth from the very foundation the most essentiall parts of discipline, not only of all the reformed, but of all the Churches knowne at any time in any part of the world, till the birth of Anabaptisme, it can not be very gracious. But, this doth Independency: The *Minor* is cleare by induction: That the Government of the *Scottish* Church by Synods, Presbyteries and Sessions sworne and subscribed of old, and late by that Nation in their solemne Covenant; that the same discipline of the Churches of *France, Holland, Switz, Geneva*, as also the Politie of the *High Dutch* and *English*, and all the rest who are called Reformed, is turned upside downe by Independency, no man doubts; for this is our Adversaries gloriation that they will be tied by no Oathes, Covenants, Subscriptions: they will be hindred by no authority of any man, no reverence of any Churches on earth, to seperate from all the reformed, that so alone they may enjoy their divine and beloved Independency.

Our last Argument, Independency is contrary to all the discipline that ever was knowne in Christendome before the Anabaptists.

If you speake of more ancient times, either the purer which followed the Apostles at the backe, or the posterior impurer ages; that the Politie of these times in all Churches, Greke and Latine, is trodden under foote by Independency, all likewise doe grant: and how well that new conceit agreeth with the discipline practised in the dayes of Christ and his Apostles, or in the dayes of *Moses* and the Prophets, the preceding arguments will shew. I confesse such is the boldnesse of the men, against whom we now dispute, that although they glory in their contempt of the authoritie of all men, dead and living: yet they offer to overwhelme us with testimonies of a number, as well ancient as late Divines: But who desire to see all that dust blowne back in their own eyes



who raised it, and the detorted words against the knowne mind and constant practise of the Authors, clearly vindicated and retorted, let them be pleased to take a view of Mr. *Pagets Posthume Apologie*, where they will finde abundant satisfaction in this kinde.

The first Objection or Argument for Independency from *Matth. 18.*

For the other side, a great bundle of arguments are also brought; we shall consider the principall. First: To whom Christ hath given the right of excommunication the greatest of all censures, they in all other acts of Jurisdiction, and in all acts of Ecclesiastick discipline, are Independent: But Christ hath given the right of excommunication to every Congregation, and to these alone. *Ergo, &c.* They prove the *Minor*. Unto the Church Christ hath given the right of excommunication *Mat. 18. Goe tell the Church, if he heare not the Church, let him be to thee as an Ethnicke*: But every Congregation, and it onely, is the Church, because in the whole Scripture the word *Church* where ever it is not taken for the Church universall, or invisibile, is ever understood of a single Congregation, which in one place with one Pastor serveth God. Answer. Passing the *Majors*, we deny the *Minors*, and affirme that no where in Scripture the word *Church* may be expounded of their Independent Congregation, and least of all in the alledged place; If we will advise either with the old or late Interpreters, or with the best and most learned of the Adversaries themselves, who affirme with us that by the Church *Matth. 18.* no Congregation can be understood, unlesse we would bring in among Christians most grosse anarchy, except we would set down on the Judgment seates of the Church every member of the Congregation, men, women, young, old, the meanest and weakest part of the people to decide by the number, not the weight of their voyces the greatest causes of the Church, to determine finally of the excommunication of Pastors, of the nature of hærésie and all doctrine, and that with a decree irrevocable from which there may be no appeal, no not to an *Oecumenicke* Synod. Wherefore beside the rest of the Interpreters a great part of the Adversaries by the Church in this place understand no whole Congregation, nor the most part of any Congregation, but a select number thereof, the Senate or Officers who cognose and discern according to the Scriptures.

This

This is enough for answer to the argument : but if further it be inquired, the Senate of which Church is pointed at in this place, whether of a *Parochiall* Church, or *Presbyteriall*, or *Nationall*, or *Oecumenicke*, or of all these. Ans. It seemeth that the Senate of all the Churches must here be understood, and especially of a *Presbyteriall* Church, at least not of a *Parochiall* onely and independently as our Adversaries would have it. By no meanes will we have the Session of a Parish prejudged, and are well content that the authority of *Parochiall* Sessions to handle their own proper affaires should be grounded upon this place ; onely we deny that from this place a Church-Session hath any warrant to take the cognition of things common to it selfe with the Neighbouring Congregations, or yet to governe her proper affaires absolutely and independently so that none may attempt to correct her when she erreth, or by censure to put her in order when she beginneth by heresie, schisme and tyranny to corrupt her selfe and others.

That in this place principally the Senate of a *Presbyteriall* Church is understood, is cleare; for of such a Church Christ here speaketh, as were the Churches at *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, *Corinth*, and others in the new Testament which we proved before to have bin *presbyteriall*. The Senate of such Churches attending on government, and discipline, is here called the Church, as elsewhere, *Act. 5. 20.* *It seemed good to the Apostles, Elders and whole Church :* The Church met to cognosce on the questions from *Antioch*, cannot be understood of all the thousand Christians at *Jerusalem*; it must then be taken of the Presbytery to which the cognition of such questions doth belong. In the fourth verse of the same chapter, *Paul* is said to *be received of the Church*, the word may well be expounded not of the whole Body, but of a select number thereof; even the Presbytery; as in the 21 he is said to be received of the Apostles and Elders, before the multitude had met together.

Only observe that however we affirme the Senate of a *Presbyteriall* Church cheifely here to be established, yet we understand not this in a way independent from provinciall, *Nationall*, or *Oecumenick* Synods; for all these meetings in their owne place and order are also grounded on this passage, as before hath beene declared.

• Their second Objection : The practise of the Church of  
Pp 3 *Corinth*

The second Objection is taken from the practise of the *Corinthians*, excommunicating the incestuous man.

*Corinth*, approved by the Apostles is the due right of every Parochiall Church and single Congregation: But, the censure of Excommunication was the practise of the Church of *Corinth* approved by the Apostle, 1 *Cor.* 5. 12, 13. *Do we not judge them that are within? therefore put away from you that wicked person.* This judgement is authoritative, and this putting away is the censure of Excommunication, cutting off from the body of Christ, which censure is here committed unto the *Corinthians*, being gathered together in one, *vers.* 4. and so to them all, and every one of them: for to them all the Epistle is written, and not to the Presbytery onely. Answ. The *Maior* must be denied for two causes; First, The practise of the *Corinthians* was grounded not onely upon the expresse command of the Apostle, but also on the singular presence of the Apostles Spirit and authority with them in pronouncing the sentence of Excommunication against that incestuous person, *v.* 3. *I as present in Spirit have judged already.* This singular priviledge of the *Corinthians* is not a ground of common right to every Church who wants the authority of the Apostles expresse command, and singular presence. Secondly, we may not argue from the Church of *Corinth* to every Congregation; for it is proved before, that the Church of *Corinth* was not Congregationall, but Presbyteriall, consisting of so many as could not meete commodiously in one private roome; also it had within it selfe a Colledge or Senate of many Pastors, Elders, and Prophets; to such a Church we grant willingly the exercise of all acts, both of Ordination and Jurisdiction.

The *Minor* also cannot be admitted but with a double distinction; the act of Excommunication is given to the Church of *Corinth*, not according to its whole, but according to the select part, to wit the Presbytery thereof. It maketh nothing against this, that the Epistle is written to the whole Church; for what is written to the whole Church indefinitely, must be applied according to the matter and purpose, sometime onely to the Pastors excluding the people: sometime onely to the people, excluding the Pastors: sometimes to both together, to Pastors, and Flock. The first Epistle, *Chap.* 1. *vers.* 12. *Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, and I of Cephas;* this cannot be taken of the Pastors, but of the people following Schismatically some one, some another



another of the Pastors. Likewise, *Chap. 4. vers. 1. Let a man so count of us as of the Ministers of Christ*, must be taken of the people, as *Chap. 3. vers. 12. (Now if any man build on this foundation gold, silver, precious stones)* is to be understood of the Pastors, as *Chap. 4. vers. 2. Also it is required in Stewards that a man be found faithfull*; but the most of the other places are to be expounded of both. Now that the preceding passages concerning the Church-censures, are not true of the whole Congregation, it appears; for beside the absurdity of confusion & Anarchy, it would follow that very women have right judicially to Depose, and Excommunicate by their voyces their Pastors, which the very Adversaries professe to reject as absurd, albeit not congruously to their Tenets; for it is not reasonable that the right which from these places they ascribe to every member of the Church, should be taken away from women, upon this onely reason that in *1 Tim. 2. 11.* a commandement is given to the *women not to teach, but in silence to learne*; for as the brethren of our Adversaries, the *Anabaptists* have marked, that place taketh away from women the publicke charge of Preaching, but not of speaking in judgement or giving their voyce in Church-judicatories. Surely, nowhere absolute silence in Church-judicatories is injoynd to women, we truly give the power of witnessing, and of self-defence as well to women as to men in all Church-judicatories. However that the censure of the incestuous man was not inflicted by the whole Church, it appears from the *2 Epist. Chap 2. vers. 6. Sufficient to such a man was the punishment which was inflicted of many*. Who were these many but the Officers who were set over the Church in the Lord?

Another distinction also would be marked, that whatsoever right we ascribe to the Church of *Corinth*, whether according to its whole, or according to any of its parts, whether we take it for a Presbyteriall or a Parochiall Church, all that right is to be understood not absolutely, nor independently, which here is the onely question. For the Church at *Corinth* had no greater priviledges then the Church of *Antioch*. Now that in a dubious and controverted case, and in a common cause the Church of *Antioch* was subordinate unto a Synod, it was before proved.

Their third objection, That which the Holy Ghost gives unto the

The third Objection from the example of the seven Churches of *Asia*.

the seven Churches of *Asia*, must be the right of every single Congregation. But, the Holy Ghost gives unto the seven Churches of *Asia* all Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction within themselves. *Revol. 2. 2. Thou canst not beare with them which are evill, and thou hast tryed them which say they are Apostles, and hast found them lyars. And ver. 14. I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Baldam. And ver. 20. I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest the woman Jezabell to teach.* Here the Churches of *Ephesus*, *Pergamus*, and *Thyatira*, are prayesd, when they proceeded with censure against those who deserved it: and are disprayesd when they held in the sword of excommunication, and did not cast out *Hereticks* and prophane Persons.

Ans<sup>w</sup>. Both the Propositions are vitious: The *Major* because the Churches in *Asia* were Presbyteriall, not Congregationall. This we proved of *Ephesus*; and we know no reason why the rest should not be of that same condition. Secondly, Albeit the Churches of *Asia* at that time in the first preaching of the Gospell, and so in the great paucity of Churches should have had no Neighbours with whom commodiously and ordinarily they could keepe society: what is that unto the Churches of our dayes who live in the midst of many Sisters? The *Minor* also may not be granted; for that which the Text ascribeth to the Angell, may not by and by be applyed to every Member of the Church. We grant that great reason and many authorities doe prove and evince that the Angells in those places cannot be expounded of the single persons of Bishops, but of the whole Body of the Presbytery in the which there was one man chosen by the Suffrages of the rest Presidents for a time; but that by the name of Angell should be understood every Member of the Church, no reason will carry it. Beside, there is no consequence from one act of reproofe to the whole right of Ecclesiastick government even in every case; for a common cause and an appearance of error and many other things, will inforce a necessity of subordination.

Their fourth Objection from the practise of the Church of *Thessalonica* and *Colosse*.

Their fourth argument: The right of the Church of *Thessalonica* and *Colosse* belongs to every Church: But, the Church of *Thessalonica* and *Colosse* had right to exercise every part of Ecclesiastick discipline within their owne bounds. Of the first, see *2 Thessalonians 3. 6. Withdraw your selves from every Brother which*

which walketh disorderly, and ver. 24. Note that man, and have no company with him that he may be ashamed. Of the second, see Col. 2. 5. *Joying and beholding your Order.* Ans. Let the *Maier* be true of all the Churches of the same Species and Nature with these of *Thessalonica* and *Colosse*, that is, of all Presbyteriall. That the Church of *Thessalonica* was such, that it had moe Pastors, it is proved from the 1 to the *Thessalonians* 5. 12. *Know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord and admonish you:* that these were Pastors, it is the minde of the best Interpreters.

Also that in *Colosse*, beside others, *Epaphras* and *Archippus* did labour in the word and doctrine, is manifest from chap. 1. ver. 7. and chap. 4. 17. Further, let the *Maier* be true of all Churches of that same state and condition with those named, to wit, when it falls out that few or no Neighbour Churches can be had with which such a society may be kept. Concerning the *Minor*, suppose that both the right and the exercise of all Ecclesiastick acts were granted to the foresaid Churches, yet the question is not touched except you adde independently and in every cause and case even of aberration, and that without all remedy of appeale to any Synode; Vpon this hinge the Question depends, and of this the argument hath nothing.

Their fifth argument: That which abolishes our liberty purchased by Christs blood, and puts upon our necke a yoke equall to the Antichristian tyranny of Bishops, is intolerable: But, the dependence of Congregations upon Presbyteries and Synods doth so. Ans. The *Minor* is false; for the subordination of Churches imports no slavery & taketh away no liberty which God hath granted; it is Gods Discipline and Order, it is the easie yoke of Christ not to be compared with the cruell bands of Bishops, since the one is humane, the other divine: by the meanes of the one, one man commandeth, either according to his free will, or according to the Canon-Law of the Pope; but by the meanes of the other, moe men advise in common according to the acts of the Reformed Churches grounded upon the Word of God: The judgement seates of Bishops are meerely externall to the Church which they governe: But, Presbyteries and Synods are Courts internall, for the onely members whereof they consist, are the Commissioners of the Churches which they govern; these Churches

Their fifth objection from the Episcopall tyranny of the Presbyterie.



Their sixt Ob-  
jection from  
the Congre-  
gations right  
to elect their  
Pastor.

they represent, the minde and desire of these Churches they doe propose, unto these Churches they give account of all their administration, they confirme and establish the rights of Congregations, they doe not abolish nor labefactate any of them.

Sixthly, These who have power to chuse the Pastor, have also the right of the whole Ecclesiastick Discipline. But every Parish hath that power. Answ. The *Major* is not necessary; for there is a great difference betwixt the Election of Ministers, and Ministers Ordination, Deposition, Excommunication, and many other acts of Discipline: Election is no act of Authority or Jurisdiction. The *Minor* also is not true, if you understand it of all the members of the Congregation; for it is not needfull that Ministers should be chosen by the expresse voyce of every man, muchlesse of every woman of the flocke: Yea, that Election doth not alwayes belong to the whole flocke, except yee take election as many seeme to doe, for a consent with reason, to the which is opposed, not every, but a rationall dissent grounded upon cleare equity and justice: certainly it is needfull at sometimes to misregard the peoples consent in chusing of a Pastor, for why should not a flocke infected with heresie be set under an wholesome and Orthodox Shepheard whether it will or not, and be rent from under the Ministrie of an hereticall Shepheard, how much soever against its owne minde?

Their seventh  
Objection  
from plurali-  
tie of cures cast  
upon one Pa-  
stor.

Their seventh argument: That is not of God which maketh Pastors Bishops of other mens Diocesses, and layes upon them the care of other Congregations then those to which the holy Ghost hath made them Overseers: But, the subordination of Parishes to Presbyteries and Synods doth this. Answ. The *Minor* is false, for neither doth every member of a Presbytery become a Pastor to every Congregation subordinate to that Presbytery, neither are Congregations consociated and conjoyned in a Presbytery altogether, without the reach of the care and inspection of neighbour Pastors. This is cleare, not onely by the arguments formerly deduced from Scripture, but by the daily practice of the Adversaries; for themselves professe their care to oversee, and admonish, and rebuke, and to use many other gracious actions as they have occasion, towards neighbouring Churches, without any blame of busie Bishops. There is almost no difference at all of their

their acts and ours toward neighbouring Churches, so farre as concernes the matter; the onely question is concerning the fountaines and grounds of these acts, they ascribing their actions onely to charity, we not to charity alone, but to authority grounded upon the former reasons: This difference belongs not to the present plea.

Their eight argument. Onely Christ hath authority over the Kingdome of God, the House of God, the holy *Jerusalem*, his owne Spouse, his owne Body. But, every single Congregation is the Kingdome of God, &c. Answ. Passing by the *Minor*. The *Major* is false and *Anabaptistike*: for by the same reason the *Anabaptists* exempt from all authority both Ecclesiasticke and Civill, not onely every Congregation, but every single person who are the members of Christ and his Spouse, and in whom the Kingdome of God doth dwell. The high and excellent stiles of honour which the Scripture gives not onely to whole Churches but to every particular Saint, exempts neither the one nor the other because of their immediate subjection to God and Christ, from the bonds and yoke of any authority, either Ecclesiasticke or Civill, which the Lord hath appointed in holy Scripture. Christs internall government of soules by his Spirit albeit never so immediate, taketh not away the externall administration of men either in the Church or Common wealth.

Their eight  
Objection from  
Christs immediate govern-  
ment of his  
Church.

Who please to see much more upon this Question, let them consult with Mr. *Rutherford* his *Peaceable Plea*, with *Appolonius* and *Spanheim*, with the Author of *Vindicia Clavinum*, especially with the Divines of the Assembly, their Answers to the Reasons of the dissenting brethren; of purpose I have abstained from making use of any of these Writings at this time, waiting for the Independents last Reply for their Reasons, and the Modell of their positive Doctrin which they have made the world to waite for too too long a time.

## C H A P. XI.

*The thousand yeares of Christ his visible Raigne upon earth, is against Scripture.*

The Originall  
and progresse  
of Chiliafme.

**A**Mong all the Sparckles of new light wherewith our Brethren doe intertaine their owne and the peoples fancie, there is none more pleasant then that of the thousand yeares; a conceit of the most Ancient and grosse Hereticke *Cerintus*, a little purged by *Papias*, and by him transmitted to some of the Greeke and Latine Fathers, but quickly declared, both by the Greek and Latine Church to be a great error, if not an heresie. Since the dayes of *Augustine* unto our time, it went under no other notion, and was imbraced by no Christian we heare of, till some of the *Anabaptists* did draw it out of its grave: for a long time after its resurrection, it was by all Protestants contemned; onely *Alstedius*, after his long abode in *Transilvania*, began in his last times to fall into likeing with some parts thereof, pretending some passages of *Piscator* for his encouragement. *Alstedius* Heterodox Writings were not long abroad when Mr. *Meade* at *Cambridge* was gained to follow him: yet both these Divines were farre from dreaming of any personall raigne of Christ upon earth: onely Mr. *Archer*, and his Colleague, *T. G.* at *Arnheim*, were bold to set up the whole Fabricke of *Chiliafme*, which Mr. *Burrowes* in his *London* Lectures upon *Hosea* doth presse as a necessary and most comfortabe ground of Christian Religion, to be infused into the hearts of all children by the care of every parent at the Catechising of their family.

The minde of  
the Independ-  
ent Chiliafts.

Our Brethrens mind in this point, as I conceive, they have Printed; is this, That in the yeare 1650. or at furthest, 1695. Christ in his humane nature, and present glory is to come from heaven unto *Jerusalem* where he was crucified; at that time the heaven and earth, and all the workes therein, are to be burnt and purged by that fire of conflagration, mentioned by *Peter*, 2 *Epist. Chap. 3.* At the same time all the Martyrs, and many of the Saints both of the Old and New Testament are to rise in their bodies; The *Jewes* from all the places where now they are scattered



scattered shall returne to *Canaan* and build *Jerusalem*: in that City Christ is to raigne for a full thousand yeares; from thence he is to goe out in person to subdue with great bloodshed by his owne hand all the disobedient Nations; when all are conquered, except some few lurking in corners, then the Church of *Jewes* and *Gentiles* shall live without any disturbance from any enemy, either without or within; all Christians then shall live without sinne, without the Word and Sacraments or any Ordinance: they shall passe these thousand yeares in great worldly delights, begetting many children, eating and drinking. and injoying all the lawfull pleasures which all the creatures then redeemed from their ancient slavery can afford. In this Earthly happineffe shall the Church continue till the end of the thousand yeares when the relicks of the Turkish and Heathenish Nations shall besiege the new *Jerusalem*, and Christ with fire from heaven shall destroy them: afterwards followeth the second resurrection of all the dead good and bad for the last judgement. Thus farre the Independent Preach and Print: further *Cerintus* himselfe went not, if you will except the Polygamy and sacrifices of the old *Israelites*. What truth may be in these things, let the arguments which are usually brought, either *pro* or *contra*, declare.

Against the mentioned Tenet I reason, first, He that remaines in the heaven unto the last Judgement comes not downe to the earth a thousand yeare before the last Judgement. But, Christ remaines in the heaven unto the last Judgement. *Ergo*. The *Major* is unquestionable; the *Minor* is proved from the Article of our Creede. *From that place he shall come to judge the quicke and the dead*, importing that Christ from the time of his ascension doth abide in the heaven at the right hand of the Father, and commeth not downe from that place to the earth till he descend in the last day to judge the quicke and the dead.

Our first reason against the Chiliafts is, that Christ from his ascension to the last judgement abides in the heaven.

I know they are not moved with the authority of any humane Creed, yet they would doe well to speake out their minde of this Article, as they doe of some others. Surely to say that Christ shall come from heaven in his humane nature, to abide a thousand yeares on the earth, and then to returne againe to the heaven, that he may discend the third time from the heaven in the last day to judge the quicke and the dead, is so evident a perverting of that

Article that Mr. Mead their great Doctor and leader in this Tenet. to eschew it, falleth into a very strange and singular conceit, wherein I doubt whether any of the Independents will be pleased to follow him; with all other Orthodox Divines he makes but two commings of Christ from the heaven to the earth; the first at the Incarnation, the second at the day of Judgement: but this day of Judgement he extends to a round thousand yeares, and this day to him is the onely time of the Millenary raigne. We neede not refute this fancie; for the best arguments which are brought for it, are some testimonies from the Talmudicke Rabbins, and these, as I conceive, understood against the true sence of the Authors. The streame of Scripture and Reason runne more against this conceit then any other part of Chiliaisme, as the most of the Chiliaists themselves will confesse.

However, what I brought from the Apostolick Creed of Christ his abode in the heaven till the last day, I prove it from Scripture, *Acts. 3. 21. Whom the heavens must receive till the time of the restitution of all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all the holy Prophets since the world began.* This place proveth clearly the abode of Christs body in the heaven till the time of the restitution of all things. So much our Brethren grant, but they deny our assumption that the time of the restitution of all things is the last day; this therefore we prove not by the Testimony of all the reformed, who unanimously bring this place as a maine ground against the Papists and Lutherans in the questions of Transubstantiation and Ubiquity, but by three reasons from the Text it selfe. First, that time here is understood when all things that are spoken of by all the Prophets, are performed: But, all things spoken of by all the Prophets, are not performed till the last day. Master *Burrowes* alleadgeance that all the Prophets are frequent and large upon the Raigne of the 1000 yeares, but rare and sparing upon the doctrine of the last Judgement and life eternall, might well have beene spared for the one halfe of it, and left to the *Socino-Remonstrants*; but suppose it were all true, yet if any of the Prophets have spoken any thing at all of the last Judgement, as the *Apostle Jude* puts it out of question even of *Enoch* it is cleare that the time of the performing of all things, which any of the Prophets have spoken, cannot possibly exist before the last Judgement,

as we may see *Rom.* 8. ver. 21. compared ver. 18. 23. where the restitution of the creatures to their desired liberty comes not before the redemption of our bodies, and the glory to be revealed upon the whole Church at the last day.

Secondly, the time here spoken of is when the *Jewes* to whom *Peter* did speake, were to be refreshed, by the Lords presence; but this shall not be before the Generall resurrection; for the *Chiliassts* doe maintaine that all the *Jewes* shall not rise, neither that any of them to whom the Apostle did then speake, shall be partakers of the first resurrection, unlesse some of them who were Martyres; for the honour and Glory of this first resurrection, the most of them make it so rare and singular a priviledge, that *Daniel* himselfe does not obtaine it but by a speciall promise.

Thirdly, The time when God doth solemnly before Men and Angels declare the absolution and blotting out of the sinnes of all his people, is not before the last day. But this is the time whereof the Apostle *Peter* speakes in the present place, as appeares by the 19 verse; *That your sinnes may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord.*

Take but one other place for Christs aboade in the heaven till the last day. *John* 14. 2. 3. *I goe to prepare a place for you, I will come againe and receive you to my selfe, that where I am there you may be.* Behold Christ goes to the heaven and comes backe againe but once, for this very end, to take his Disciples with him, not to abide with them upon the earth, but to place them in the Mansions of his Fathers House in the Heavens, which he went to prepare for them, wherein all the time of his absence he himselfe was to remaine.

A Second argument we take from Christs sitting at the right hand of God. This error how innocent soever it seeme to some, yet it perverts the true sence of sundry articles of our Creed, and forceth its followers to coyne new and false senses to a great many Scriptures whereupon these articles were builded. This was the reason why neither *Piscator* nor *Alstedius* nor *Mead* when they laide too fast hold upon some of the branches of *Chiliasme*, yet the bulke and roote of that Tree, Christs comming downe to the earth in his humane nature a thousand yeares before the last day, they durst never touch: but our Brethren have more venturous Spirits, they see much further then their Masters, they

Our second reason is builded on Christs sitting at the right hand of God till the day of judgement.



they scruple nothing to make all these things popular and Catecheticke doctrine. The reason I spoke of, is this, Christ sits at the right hand of God till the last day. *Ergo*, he comes not to reigne on earth a thousand yeares before the last day. The consequence is builded upon this Proposition, Christs sitting at the right hand of the Father is not in earth but in heaven, which many Scriptures prove. *Ephes. 1. 20. He set him at his own right hand in heavenly places. Heb. 1. 3. He sat downe at the right hand of the Majesty on high. Heb. 8. 1. He is set on the right hand of the Throne of the Maiesty in the heavens.* The antecedent I prove thus, *He sits at the right hand of God till all his enemies be made his footstoole.* So speaks the Psalmist, *Psal. 110. 1.* But all his enemies are not made his footstoole till the last day: for till then, *Satan, Sinne, Death*, and all wicked men ate not fully destroyed.

Our third reason is grounded on the resurrection of the dead; the godly and ungodly doe all rise together at the last day.

Our third argument we take from the resurrection of the dead. All the Godly at Christs comming from heaven doe rise immediately to a Heavenly Glory. *Ergo*, none of them doe arise to a Temporall glory of a thousand yeares upon earth. The antecedent see in *Heb. 9. 28. Unto them that looke for him shall he appeare the second time without sin unto salvation.* Christ hath but two times of comming to the earth, first in weakenes to die upon the Crosse; The second time in glory to give eternall Salvation without distinction to all beleevers who looke for his comming.

Also *1 Thes. 4. 14. Them which sleepe in Iesus, will he bring with him. The Lord himselfe shall discend from heaven with a shout, and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we which are alive shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meete the Lord in the ayre, and so shall we be ever with the Lord.* The ground of comfort which the Apostle propounds to the *Thessalonians* for all their dead, as well Martyrs as others, was their resurrection, not before the Lords comming with the voice of the *Archangell*, but at that time when all the dead in Christ without exception do arise, and non of them abide on the earth, but all are caught up in the ayre to meete the Lord, and all remaine with him eternally thereafter without any separation.

See also, *1 Cor. 15. 22. In Christ shall all be made alive, but every man in his owne order; Christ the first fruits, afterward they that are Christs at his comming; then commeth the end when he shall have delivered up the Kingdome to God.* The Apostle here speaks

of the Resurrection of all, and particularly of the Martyrs such as with the Apostle *died daily and every houre were in jeopardy and fought with Beasts*; although he professes to distinguish the diversity of order that might be in this great worke of the Resurrection: yet he affirms that these who are Christs, do not arise till his comming; and his comming he makes not to be till the last day when Christ renders up his *Oeconomicks* Kingdome, having destroyed all his enemies, especially death, & fully perfected the work of his mediation. This Resurrection is after the sound of the last Trumpet, when all the godly rise, and are changed, and put on incorruption and immortallity, when death is swallowed up into victory, and the godly inherit the Kingdome of God; these things are done at the last day, not a thousand yeares before it, as *John 6*. Christ avoweth thrice, in the end, ver. 39. 40. 44. *I will raise him up at the last day*. At that time the judgement is universall, both of the godly and wicked; and the execution of both their sentences is immediately by the present glorification of the one and the destruction, of the other as we have it *Math. 25. 31. When the Son of man shall come in his glory, before him shall be gathered all Nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepheard divideth his sheepe from the Goats*.

Fourthly, we reason from the nature of Christs Kingdome. The conceit of the thousand yeares makes Christs Kingdome to be earthly, and most observeable for all worldly glory; but the Scripture makes it to be Spirituall without all wordly pompe; neither doth the Word of God make the Kingdome of the Mediator of two kindes, and of a different nature, but one, uniforme from the beginning to the end, *Luke 1. 32. The Lord shall give him the throne of his Father David, and he shall raigne over the house of Jacob for ever. 1 Cor. 15. 25. He must raigne till he have put all things under his feete*; here there is but one Kingdome, and one way of ruling, a Kingdome meerely Spirituall, and nowise worldly. *Luke 17. 20. The Kingdome of God commeth not with observation, neither shall they say, loe here, or loe there, but the Kingdome of God is within you. John 18. 36. My Kingdome is not of this world; if my Kingdome were of this world, then would my servants fight; but now is my Kingdome not from hence. Rom. 14. 17. The Kingdome of God is not meate and drinke, but righteousness, peace, and joy of the*

Our fourth reason is builded on Christs Kingdome which is Spirituall and not earthly.

*holy Ghost. Ephes. 1. 20. He raised him from the dead and set him at his right hand in heavenly places, and hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all to the Church. The Millenaries make his Kingdome to appeare in Armies and Battells, in feasts and pleasures, in worldly pompe and power, and will not have his Kingdome to stand in any of that spirituall power which since his ascension he hath executed on principalities and powers, or shall performe upon the soules of men, till these thousand yeares of worldly power and earthly glory visible to the eyes of men shall begin.*

Our fifth reason  
is taken from  
the nature of  
the Church.

We take our fifth argument from the nature of the Church ; Scripture makes the Church of God so long as it is upon the earth to be a mixed multitude, of Elect and Reprobate, good and bad, a company of people under the crosse and subject to various temptations, a company that hath neede of the Word and Sacraments, of Prayer and Ordinances, that hath Christ a High Priest within the vaile of heaven interceding for them. But, the Doctrine in hand changes the nature of the Church, and makes it for a thousand yeares together to consist onely of good and gracious persons, without all trouble, without all Ordinances, without any neede of Christs intercession.

Which ever on  
earth is mixt  
of good and  
evill.

For the first, That Scripture makes the Church alwayes to be a mixed company, See *Matth. 13. 40. As the tares are gathered and burnt in the fire, so shall it be in the end of the world. The Sonne of man shall send forth his Angels, and they shall gather out of his Kingdome all things that offend and that doe iniquity : and vers. 49. So shall it be in the end of the world, the Angels shall come forth and sever the wicked from among the just. Also, Chap. 24. 11. Many false Prophets shall arise and deceiue many, & because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall waxe cold. Luke 18. 8. When the Sonne of man cometh, shall he finde faith upon the earth?* These places declare the mixture of the wicked with the godly in the Church to the worlds end, and most about the end.

And subject to  
crosses.

As for Crosses, See *Psal. 34. 20. Many are the afflictions of the righteous. Mat 5. 4. Blessed are they that mourne and that are persecuted for righteousness. Acts 14. 23. By many tribulations we must enter into the Kingdome of heaven. Rom. 8. 17. If so we suffer with him, that we may be glorified together. 2. Tim. 3. 12. All that will live godly*



godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. Heb. 12.6. Whom the Lord loves, he correcteth, and he scourgeth every child that he receives. Many such places shew the condition of the Church in this life that she is ever subject to tribulation.

Concerning Ordinances, that they must continue to the last day, Having neede See Ephes. 4.11. He gave some Pastors and Teachers for the perfecting of the Saints for the worke of the Ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ till we all come to a perfect man. And for the continuance of the Sacraments, 1 Cor. 11.26. As often as you eate this bread and drinke this cup, yee doe shew the Lords death till hee come.

That in the most godly while they live on earth, sinne doth remaine, and that alwayes we have neede of Christs intercession in the heaven with the Father, it is cleare from 1 John 1.8. If wee say we have no sinne, the truth of God is not in us. And Chap. 2. ver. 1. But if any man sinne, we have an Advocate with the Father. Heb. 9.24. Christ is entred into the heaven it selfe now to appeare in the presence of God for us.

Because of her  
sinfull infir-  
mities.

Thus the Scripture describes the condition of the Church on earth; but the Doctrine in hand alters much the nature of it for a great part of its time here: for of the 2650 yeares which they give to the Church from the comming of Christ to the last judgement, they make her to consist for a whole thousand yeares only of godly persons, without the mixture of any one wicked; and all the millions who are borne in the Church in that large time, they are free from their birth to their death of all crosses, of all sorrowes, of all temptations, and as it seemes of all sinne also; for that is the time of the restitution of all things when old things are past and all things become new: They make them to have neede neither of Word nor Sacraments, or any Church Ordinance, neither of Christs Intercession in the heavens with the Father; for they have him among them in the earth, and they are freed from all sinne; and all misery.

A sixth Argument. Scripture makes the time of Christs second comming to be secret and hid, not onely to men, but to the very Angels, and to Christ himselfe as he is man, Marke 13.32. But of that day and that houre knoweth no man, no not the Angels which are in heaven, neither the Sonne, but the Father. But this Doctrine makes

A Sixth reason  
from the secre-  
cie of the time  
of Christs com-  
ming.

A Seventh,  
from the hea-  
venly and e-  
ternall reward  
of the Martyrs.

that day open, and tells the time of it punctually; for they make the thousand yeares to begin with the 1650 yeare, or else with the 1695. and the day of Judgement to be at the end of the thousand yeares; so if their count doe hold, every child in the Church might tell us that Christ will come to Judgement in the beginning of the 2651 yeare, or at farthest in the beginning of the 2696.

A seventh Argument. The reward of the Martyrs is eternall life in the heavens, promised to them at Christs comming to judge the just and the unjust. *Ergo*, It is not temporall in an earthly Kingdome of a thousand yeares. The *Antecedent* is proved from *Matth. 5. 10. Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness, for theirs is the Kingdome of heaven. 2 Tim 4. 6. I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is neare; I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; henceforth is laid up for me a crowne of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give at that day, &c.* The reward that *Paul* expects after his Martyrdome, is the Crowne which Christ at the last day gives to all that waite for his comming at that time when he takes vengeance on the wicked, as we have it *2 Thes. 1. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.* where the rest and retribution of the Martyrs, of *Paul* himselfe and those who at that time were troubled for the Gospell, is said to be at Christs coming to take vengeance in flaming fire on all the wicked, and to be glorified in all the Saints, and admired in all them that beleve which without all doubt is not before the last Judgement; and if it were otherwise, the Martyres would be at a losse: for instead of a reward, a punishment should be put upon them, their condition should be made worse then that of the common Saints, who during the time of the thousand yeares remaine in the heavens among the Angels, beholding and injoying the Trinity, while the soules of the Martyrs are brought downe to the earth, and returne to a body, not like to the glorious body of Christ, nor unto these incorruptible, immortall, Spirituall bodies, which yet are promised to the least of the faithfull at their resurrection, *1 Cor. 15.* but unto such a body that eates, drinkes, sleepest, fights, delights in fleshly pleasures, and converses with beasts and earthly creatures, in such a Paradise whereof the Turkish Alcorane and the Jewish Talmud doth speake much; but to a godly soule is very tasteles, and to a soule that hath beene in heaven,

heaven, or to one that enjoys the presence of Christ, is exceeding burthenfome and bitter.

An eight reason. The opinion of the *Millenaries* supposeth the restauration of *Ierusalem* and of the *Jewish* Kingdome after their destruction by the *Romans*. But, Scripture denies this, *Ezek. 16. 53, 55. When I shall bring againe the captivity of Sodome and her daughters, and the captivity of Samaria and her daughters, then will I bring againe the captivity of thy daughters in the midst of them. When thy Sister Sodome and her daughters shall returne to their former estates, and Samaria and her daughters shall returne to their former estate, then thou and thy daughters shall returne to your former estate.* The *Jewes* are never to be restored to their ancient outward estate, much lesse to a greater and more glorious Kingdome. *Ierusalem* was to be rebuilded, and the spirituall glory of the second Temple was to be greater then the first; and in the end of this same chapter, the restitution of the *Iewes* after the *Babylonish* captivity, by the vertue of the new covenant is promised; but the outward estate of that people was never to be restored to its ancient lustre more then *Samaria*, or *Sodome*, as *Amos* speakes of *Samaria*, chap. 5. 2. *The Virgine of Israel is fallen, she shall no more rise. And Isaiah of Ierusalem, The transgression thereof shall be heavy, and it shall fall and not rise againe, according to the Prophecie of Iacob, Gen. 49. 10. The Scepter shall not depart from Iudah till Shiloh come.* Importing that the Tribe of *Iudah* should ever have some outward visible rule till the comming of Christ in the flesh; but thereafter the Scepter and power of the Church should be onely spirituall in the hand of *Shiloh* the *Messias*; he was the substance and the body of all these Types, the restauration of *Ierusalem* and the erecting of a new Monarchy in *Iudah*, for the *Jewes*, were to bring backe the old evanished shadowes contrary to the doctrine and nature of the Gospell.

An eight reason, the restoration of an earthly *Ierusalem* brings backe the abolisht figures of the Lgw.

One other reason. The *Millenaries* lay it for a ground, that *Antichrist* shall be destroyed and fully abolished before their thousand yeares beginne; but Scripture makes *Antichrist* to continue to the day of Judgement. *2 Thes. 2. 8. Then shall that wicked man be revealed whom the Lord shall consume with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightnesse of his comming.* The brightnesse of Christs comming is not before the last day, as before is proved.

A ninth, *Antichrist* is not abolisht till the day of Judgement.



See also, Revel. 19. 20. *The beast was taken, and with him the false Prophet; these both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with Brimstone.* Compare it with vers. 7. *Let us be glad and rejoyce, for the Marriage of the Lambe is come.* Antichrist is cast alive into the lake at the Marriage of the Lambe; no living men are cast into hell before the last day; and Christs Marriage with his Church is not solemnized with a part of the Elect, but with the whole bodie at the generall resurrection.

The Chiliafts  
first reason is  
from Revel. 20. 4

For the opposite Tenet divers Scriptures are brought; above all, Rev. 29 4, 5, 6. *And I saw the soules of them that were beheaded for the witnesse of Jesus, and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand yeares; but the rest of the dead lived not againe till the thousand yeares were finished; this is the first resurrection.* Hence they do infer Christs personall reigne upon earth for a thousand yeares; also the resurrection of the Martyrs, and of some others a thousand yeares before the generall resurrection: Divers such conclusions doe they draw from this place. We Answer, First, that the resurrection here is mentioned onely occasionally; also this place, as the most of this Booke, is Mysticall and Allegoricall; besides, it is without all controversie, the words cited are among the most obscure and difficult places of the whole Scripture; the most of the places alledged in the former arguments did speake of the resurrection purposely and at large; also in proper termes, without any Tropes or Figures, and were all cleare without obscurity; it is not reasonable to bring an Argument from one place where a point is handled onely by the way and that in Mysticall and exceeding obscure termes, against a multitude of places wherein the matter is handled of purpose largely and clearly.

Answer  
I.

2.

Secondly, they who from this place reason against the common Tenet, doe differ all of them among themselves in sundry materiall conclusions, the old Chiliafts from the late, and the late one from another *Alstedius, Mead, Archer, Goodwin, Burrowes, Matton*; every one of them have their proper conceits wherein they differ from the rest, as will be found by any who compare their Writings.

3.

Thirdly, In all this Chapter there is not one syllable to prove Christs being upon the earth, but that one word of the Saints reigning with Christ. Suppose the Text had expressed that they who

did

did reigne with Christ, had beene upon earth themselves; this would not prove that Christ (because they are said to raigne with him) was upon earth with them; for *Rom. 8. 17. If children, then joynt-heires with Christ, if so be that we suffer with him that we may be also glorified together.* There is here in one verse three paralell phrased with that in hand, *Heires with Christ, Suffering with Christ, Glorified with Christ*; and a fourth, *Ephes. 1. 3. Who hath blessed us with all Spirituall blessings in heavenly places in Christ*; Will it hence follow that Christs humane nature was then upon earth with them who suffered with him, were heires with him, were blessed in him in heavenly places with all spirituall graces, and were to be glorified with him? if none of these foure phrased imply a personall presence of Christ upon earth with men, much lesse will the place controverted doe it; for they speak expresly of men living upon the earth; but it speakes as expresly of the soules of men that were in the heaven; the same that are mentioned, *Revel. 6. 9. I saw under the Altar the soules of them that were slaine for the Word of God.* This place then is so farre from proving Christs personall presence upon earth, that it imports the contrary, both because they that are said to reigne with him, were not upon the earth, but under the Altar in heaven; and also because in *vers. 11.* Christs Throne whereupon he judges the quicke and the dead, is mentioned after the raigne of these thousand yeares. Now we have proved from many Scriptures that Christ remaines in the heavens till he come downe in the last day to sit upon that Throne.

Fourthly, We deny that there is any thing in this place which imports a bodily resurrection. They can produce no scripture where the first resurrection is ever applyed to the body; there be sundry places to prove a spirituall resurrection of the soule, from the death and grave of sinne, of errors and corruptions, before the last resurrection of the body, *Coll. 2. 12. You are risen with him through faith*: also *3. 1. If then ye be risen with Christ &c.* But a first resurrection of the body no scripture intimates; for so there should be not onely a first and second, but a third resurrection, as they tell us of a first, second, and third comming of Christ to the earth. Further, the resurrection here spoken of is attributed to the Soules of them that were beheaded; these are not capable of

of a bodily resurrection, in propriety of speech; and if to these soules, men at their owne pleasure without any warrant from scripture, will ascribe a body, they fall into a great inconvenience: for their love to this imagined first resurrection of the body, they overthrow both the heaven and the hell which hitherto have beene beleevd; and make no scruple to create a new heaven and a new hell of their owne invention, to the dangerous scandall of all Christians.

Our new Chiliafts are inventors of a new heaven and of a new hell.

Master *Archer* seeing well the absurdity to bring a soule from heaven backe again to an earthly condition, tells us plainly That no soule at all went ever to that which we call heaven; That the Soule of Christ at his death, and of the good theife went onely to an Elementary Paradise, a place below the Moone, in the region of the ayre, or at highest in the Element of the fire; That *Enoch* and *Elias* are gone no higher; That no soule of any of the Saints goes to the third heavens where Christ is, unto the last day. As for hell, he tells us that all Christians but the Independent his followers, have beene in an error about it; he teaches that the hell whether the wicked now goes, is not that fire prepared for the Divell and his Angells, whether at the last Judgement they shall be sent; but onely a place of prison in the Low region of the aire, or in some part of the Sea, where the soules of the wicked are kept till the day of Judgement; but at the day of Judgement, he tells us of a second hell, very large, and farre higher then the present heaven of the Saints, the whole body of the foure Elements, all the heavens of the Planets and fixed Starres, and what ever else is below the third heavens the habitation of God; he turnes it all into the first *Chaos*, and makes all that confused body without any distinction, to be hell. In all this, the man is so confident, as if there were nothing in these strange novelties to be called in question.

5. Fifthly, We deny that in this place there is one syllable for any earthly Kingdome. They shall reigne with Christ, therefore they shall reigne with him upon earth: this is an addition to the Text. For, suppose the words did import a reigning upon earth, yet this would not inferre an earthly reigne, for the Kingdome of Christ is spirituall; like his Preisthood, and these two are here conjoyned, ver. 6. *They shall be Preists of God and of Christ, and shall reigne with*



*Wish him.* Christians on earth are Preists, but not to offer bodily sacrifice; and while they are upon earth they are Kings, but not to rule mens outward estates : for if so, then there should be all these thousand yeares many more Kings then Subjects. Master *Archer* tells us confidently without any scruple, that not the Martyres alone, and some few priviledged Saints, as his Colleague *T.G.* would have it, but that all the godly without any exception, shall rise and be Kings to rule and judge the Saints, who shall be borne in the thousand yeares. Suppose it should be no disparagement for all these who then shall be borne, to be excluded, while they live, from all places of authority and power: yet would it not be some piece of disorder to have more Kings to command then Subjects to obey, for I suppose that the godly of all by-gone ages arising together will be many more then the Saints in any one age of these thousand yeares.

Sixthly, we deny that a thousand yeares in any propriety of speech, can be applied to Christs Personall reigne; for if we speak of his reigne either in his nature or Person, it is eternall, and not to be measured by any yeares or time; and if we speake of his regall office as Mediatour, it must be much longer then a thousand yeares; for although we should cut off from his Monarchy all the yeares that are past since his birth to this day, which were much against the currant of scripture, since all this while he hath beene sitting upon the Throne of his Father *David*, and ruling his Church as King and Monarch thereof; yet it were uncomely to confine the time of his reigne to come to a thousand yeares; this were too small an endurance for his Monarchy. Many humane Principalities, sundry States and Empires which have beene and this day are in the world, might contend for a longer continuance, for this cause it seemes to be that Master *Archer* the most resolute Doctor in this question that I have met with, makes the thousand yeares we debate of, to be onely the evening of Christs Personall reigne; but to the morning therof wherein at leisure all the processes of the Last Judgement are gone through, he ascribes a great many more yeares, readily another thousand; and why not two or three or more thousands? It is good to be wise to sobriety; arrogant curiosity and presumptuous wantonnesse of wit is detestable, though in the best men.

Seventhly, the place makes Satan to be bound up onely from  
S f seducing

seducing the Nations, that he should not be able as before the comming of Christ he was, to misleade the Nations of the whole world to Idolatry, a free doore then being opened to the Gospell in every Nation, for their conversion to the truth; but our new Doctors extend the place much further; they will have Satan bound up for a 1000 yeares, not onely from seducing Nations to Idolatry, but from tempting any person to any sin; this is contrary to these Scriptures which makes every Saint in all ages, to fight not onely *with flesh and bloud, but with Principalities and Powers*: which makes Satan always *to goe about like a roaring Lion seeking whom he may devour*; and that so boldly that in the very presence of Christ, he doth seeke to winnow the best of his Disciples: yea, the place in hand gives to Satan in the very time of the thousand yeares. so great power upon multitudes of men who never were sanctified, but ever his vassalls, led by him at his will, that he makes them compasse the holy City, and the Campe of the Saints to fight against God, till fire from heaven did destroy them.

Their second  
reason from  
*Daniel 12.*

Beside this famous place, Master *Archer*, Master *Mattoun* and *T. G.* in his glimps, bring a number of other scriptures for their Tenet, wherewith we neede not meddle: for Master *Petree*, and Master *Hayne* in peculiar treatises have answered them all; onely the cheife of them, which Master *Burrows* in his treatise upon *Hof. 1.* is pleased to chuse out, we will consider. He builds much upon *Daniel. 12.* as if it did prove the resurrection of some of the godly to an earthly glory a thousand yeares before the last Judgement; he borroweth from the glimpse foure arguments, word by word; there is a fifth also in the glimpse, which the most of that party doe much insist upon; the first is taken from the second verse of that 12 chap. At the last Judgement say they, all shall rise; but, in that place, many doe rise, not all.

We Answer  
I.

Answer. We prove that the Prophet speakes here of the last resurrection, by two grounds which our Brethren will not deny. First, the resurrection unto life eternall is onely at the last day; but the resurrection whereof *Daniel* speakes, is expresly to life eternall; not that prior resurrection which our Brethren aime at, to a temporall Kingdome of a thousand yeares. Secondly, the resurrection of the wicked to eternall shame, is onely at the last day; for according to our Brethrens Doctrine, the wicked have no part of the first resurrection, and rise not till the thousand yeares

yeares be ended; now, the resurrection whereof *Daniel* speakes in *verse 2.* is expressly of the wicked to shame and death, as well as of the godly to life and glory. As for their Argument from the word *Many*, it proves not that all did not rise, but onely that these that did rise, were many and a great multitude. Therefore *Deodate* Translates the words well according to the sence of the Originall, *This multitude of these that sleepe in the dust.* The Collectives *omnes* & *multi*, are sometimes Synonymy's, according to the matter in hand; as *omnes* must sometimes be taken for *multi*; so *multi* must sometimes be taken for *omnes*.

Secondly, They reason from the third *verse*, that in the last resurrection the bodies of all the Saints shall shine as the Sunne: But in the resurrection whereof the Prophet speakes, no body shines as the Sunne, but some as the Starres, others as the Firmament. Answ. The preceding *verse* evinces unanswerably, that the Prophet here is speaking of the last resurrection to life everlasting; as for the argument, it doth not follow that they who here are said to have so much glory, may not elsewhere be said to have more; for that which here the Prophet intends to expresse is not the absolute but the comparative glory of the Saints; however the least disciple should shine as the Sunne, yet if ye compare his glory with the greater light of an other, you may expresse the glory of both in the similitude of lightsoine bodies lesse glorious then the Sunne, if so these bodies differ one from another in degrees of glory; for all that the Prophet here aimes at, is onely this difference of glory. Christ in the Gospell makes all the Saints to shine as the Sunne, yet the Apostle *1 Cor 15 45.* distinguishing the different degrees of glory that is among the Saints, scruples not to expresse the glory of the most of them in the similitude of bodies lesse glorious then the Sunne; *There is one glory of the Sunne, another glory of the Moone, another of the Starres; for one Starre differeth from another Starre in glory; so also is the resurrection from the dead.* Further, will our Brethren affirme that the bodies of the Saints on ~~earth~~ during the time of those thousand yeares, shall be so farre changed, as to shine like the Starres, and yet to eate, drinke, and sleepe? so much glory can hardly stand with so much baseness.

Thirdly, They reason from the fourth *verse*; The last resurrection

2.

3.



tion is no mystery nor any secret to be sealed up to the end of the vision. But, the resurrection here spoken of, is such a mystery as must be sealed up. .

Answer, First, according to Mr. *Barrowes* expresse profession in the same place, the Argument may be inverted; for the first resurrection to the thousand yeares of glory, he makes a Doctrine very well knowne and much insisted upon by all the Prophets before Christ; but the *Generall* resurrection and life everlasting he makes to be a hid and secret Doctrine which the Prophets in the old Testament doe scarcely touch. Secondly, Life eternall and death eternall, heaven and hell, are to this day very great Mysteries to the most of the world; and Scriptures concerning *these*, are hid and closed above any other. Thirdly, The words speake not onely of the resurrection, but of the whole preceding Prophecie, especially of the peoples deliverance by *Michael* the Prince from the oppression of *Antiochus*, which was not much to be understood till it came to passe.

4.

Fourthly, They reason from the last *verse*; Life eternall is common to all the Saints, and no singular priviledge of *Daniels*. But, the resurrection here spoken of, is promised to *Daniel* as a singular favour.

Answer, Mr. *Archer* who is deepest learned in these Mysteries, affirms. That all the goldy as well as *Daniel*, had their part in the first resurrection; and indeede, if once you begin to distinguish, it will be hard to finde satisfactory grounds to give this glory to *Daniel*, and to deny it to *David*, to *Moses*, to *Abraham* and many others. Secondly, We may well say that life eternall albeit *common* to all the Saints, yet is so divine, so rare and singular a mercy to every one that gets it, that it may be propounded to *Daniel* and every Saint as a soveraigne comfort against the bitterness of all their troubles. Thirdly, The place according to the best Interpreters, speakes nothing at all of any resurrection; onely it imports a promise to *Daniel* to live in peace all his dayes, that notwithstanding all his troubles, of the Church which he saw in these visions (as *Diodate* Translates it) yet so farre as concerned himself he should goe on to his end, and rest, stand, or continue in his present honours and prosperous condition to his death, and the end of his dayes.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, from the 11. and 12. *verse* they conclude peremptorily the beginning of these thousand yeares to be in the yeare 1650; or at furthest 1695 for they make the 1290 dayes to be so many yeares, and the 1335 dayes to be 45 yeares more; these they make to beginne in the raigne of *Julian* the Apostate who after *Constantine's* death, did re-establish Paganisme in the Empire, and encouraged the *Jewes* to build the Temple of *Jerusalem*, till God hindred them by an Earthquake which did cast up the foundation-stones of the old Temple. Beginning their account at this time, the end of their first number falls on the yeere 1650, and of the second on the yeare 1695. This is *Archers* calculation, which *T.G.* and others follow precisely.

Answer, We marvell at the rashnesse of men who by the example of many before them, will not learne greater wisedome; if they needes must determine peremptorily of *times and seasons*, That they doe not extend their period beyond their owne dayes, That they be not, as some before them, laughed at before their owne Eyes, when they have lived to see the vanity of their too confident Predictions; however, in this calculation, there seemes nothing to be found; neither the beginning, nor the middle, nor the later end. If the thousand yeares begin in the 1650 yeare, if Christ then come in person to the earth, what will keepe him from perfecting his Kingdome to the 1695 yeare thereafter; will he spend whole 45 yeares in warres against the Nations, before they be subdued to his Scepter? Secondly, What warrant have they to begin their account with the Empire of *Julian*? Did he set up *any abomination* at all in the Church of God? He opened againe in the Territories of his Empire the Pagan Temples, which by *Constantine* had been closed; by counsell and example he allured men to idolatry; but he troubled not any Christians in the liberty of their profession, he did not set up idolatry in any Christian Congregation; The Lord did quickly kill him and so prevented his intended persecution of Christians. But although it could be verified of him, that he did set up the *abomination of desolation in the Temple*; yet how made he the *daily Sacrifice to cease*? he was so far from *this*, that to the uttermost of his power he laboured to set up againe the daily Sacrifice which some hundred yeares ceased. Scripture speaks onely of *two* times wherein the

solemne sacrifice was made to cease, and the abomination of desolation was set up. First, by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and then by *Titus Vespasian*; but of *Julian* his making the sacrifice to cease, Scripture speakes nothing. That Story of the Earthquake whereupon Mr *Archer* builds, albeit reported by some of the Ancients, seemes to be a great fable; Certainly, the application of it to Christs Prophecie of the Gospel, *A stone shall not be left upon a stone*, as if this had not been fulfilled till that Earthquake had cast up all the foundation-stones of the ancient Temple, is very temerarious. As The beginning and end of their calculation is groundlesse, so also the midst and the whole body of it is frivolous. What necessity is there to expound *dayes* by *yeares* especially in that place, where yeares are divided into dayes? In the very preceding words, *vers. 7.* the dayes here mentioned are expressed by *a time, times, and halfe a time*: can they shew in any place of Scripture that ever a *day* is put for a *yeare*, where yeares, and dayes are conjoynd, and a few yeares are extended in the enumeration of all the dayes that are in these yeares?

The words of the Prophet *Daniel* are cleare, if they be taken as they lie; but if they be strained to a Mysticall sense, they become inexplicable. The Lord is comforting the Prophet and the whole Church by the short indurance of the desolations which *Antiochus* was to bring upon them; for from the time of his scattering of the *Jewes*, and discharging of the solemne sacrifice unto the breaking of the yoke of his Tyranny, it should be but three yeares and a halfe with a few more dayes: yea, unto that happy time when the plague of God should fall on his person, it should be but 45 dayes more. The History of *Josephus* and the *Maccabees*, makes the event accord with this prediction. Why then should we straine the Text any further to a *new sence* which neither agrees with the *event* nor with the *words*?

Their third argument.

Another place alleadged by Mr *Burrowes*, is *Psalme 102. 16.* *When the Lord shall build up Sion, he shall appeare in his glory*; As if this did import both the building againe of *Sion* and also Christs glorious appearance upon the earth.

Answer.

Answer. This place speaks of no such things; the ordinary Exposition of late and old Interpreters, agrees so well with the texture of the whole *Psalme*, that to drive it farther, were needlesse



lesse, the place speakes of the *Babylonish* Captivity, and of the earnest desire of the godly at *that time* to have *Jerusalem* and *Sion* then in the dust, againe restored. This desire of the Saints is granted, and a promise is made to them that *Sion* should be againe builded, and that the Lord by this act of mercy should get great glory. But for any third building of *Sion* after the dayes of the Messias, or for any personall raigne of Christ upon earth, no syllable in this place doth appeare.

His next place is *Rom. 11. 12.* *If the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them be the riches of the Gentiles; place. how much more their fullnesse?* Their fourth

Ans. There is nothing here for the point in hand: we grant willingly that the Nation of the *Jewes* shall be converted to the fayth of Christ; and that the fullnesse of the *Gentiles* is to come in with them to the Christian Church; also that the quickning of that dead and rotten member, shall be a matter of exceeding joy to the whole Church. But That the converted *Jewes* shall returne to *Canaan* to build *Jerusalem*; That Christ shall come from the heaven to reigne among them for a thousand yeares, there is no such thing intimated in the scriptures in hand. Answer.

Master Burrows fifth place, is *Acts 3. 20, 21.* *He shall send Jesus Christ whom the heavens must receive unto the times of the re- place. stitucion of all things.* Their fifth

Ans. That these words are to be understood of Christs coming to the last Judgement, and not of his coming to any Temporall Kingdome on earth, we did before prove. Answer.

His sixth place, is *2 Pet. 3. 10. 13.* *But the day of the Lord will come as a Theife in the night, in the which the heavens shall passe away with a great noyse, and the Elements shall melt with fervent heate; the earth also and the works that are therein, shall be burnt up: nevertheless we according to his promise, looke for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. place.* Their sixth

Ans. First it would be remembred that our Brethren do adde among many other things, this also unto the Tenet of the old *Chilists*, That before their golden age, the earth and all things therein must be destroyed; That the earth wherein they are to reigne, that the Beasts, Foules, Fishes, Trees and all other creatures they are to make use of in their thousand yeares, are to be of new created, Answer.

ated, all the old creatures in their whole kindes being burnt to ashes, and destroyed.

2.

We say secondly, That this place is miserably misinterpreted; for all that the Apostle is saying, is in answer to the scoffers cavill *verse 4.* requiring in scorne the performance of the promise of Christs comming, not unto this thousand yeares raigne, but *to the day of Judgement and perdition of ungodly men*, as the Apostle speaks expressly *vers 7.* Now, all the *Chiliassts* confesse that *this Judgement* and *that perdition*, is not till after the thousand yeares; so the burning of necessity according to their owne grounds, cannot precede, but must follow them.

Thirdly, the time whereof the Apostle speakes, is called *the day of the Lord*; the usuall discription of Christs comming to Judgement; also the day that comes on the world *as a theefe in the night*, which phrase oftentimes in scripture is attributed unto Christs comming unto Judgement, but is not true of his comming to the *Millenary* reigne: for the calculation of that time is so well knowne, that it is preached and printed to be at *such a yeare*, if not such a mounth or day. Also, this dissolving of the heavens and Elements with fire, is a concomitant of Christ his comming to the last Judgement, as is expressly intimated. *2 The. 1. 8. 9.*

As for the words whereupon alone they ground their argument, *the new Earth wherein dwells righteousness*. As if these words could not be true after the last Judgement: no righteous man then dwelling upon the earth. If they had looked upon the originall, they would have seene the weakenesse of their collection; for the words runne thus, *We in whom righteousness dwells, looke for new Heavens and a new Earth*; The habitation of righteousness referring neither to the heavens nor to the earth, but to the godly and righteous persons who did waite for the performance of the promise of new heavens and a new earth. as our late annotations doe observe; And though you would reade them according to our *English* Translation, yet that *inhabitation* needes not referre to the earth, but to the heavens onely, as *Junius* well observes. For it is not *in qua terra*, but *in quibus caelis*; and our Brethren if they beleeve Mr. *Archer*, must referre the Pronoun not to both the Substantives, but onely to the one; for he teaches That during the thousand yeares no righteous soule inhabites the heaven;

heaven : and thereafter, that no righteous soule does inhabit either the earth or the heavens wherein now the soules of the godly are, all these being turned into hell the habitation of unrighteous men and divells.

Mr. Burrows seventh place, *Isa. 65. 21. And they shall build houses and inhabit them, and they shall plant Vineyards and cate the fruit of them.* Their seventh place.

and ver. 17. *Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth, &c.*

Hence concluding not onely a new heaven and a new earth for the *Millenary* reigne, but a planting of Vineyards, a building of houses ; which cannot be after the day of Judgement.

Ans. First, Master Burrows refers this place to the former passage of *Peter* ; if therefore *Peters* new heavens and new earth must be understood of the *life to come* ; *Isaiahs* new heavens and new earth must be understood of the same. Answer. 1.

Secondly, Its very new and harsh divinity to say that after the heavens have passed away with a noyse, and the earth with all the workes thereof are burnt up, that men shall plant Vineyards, and build houses upon the new earth ; Therefore Master Burrows notwithstanding his argument and reference of *Isaiah* to *Peter*, seemes in that same place to retract and acknowledge that the *new heavens* and the *new earth* must be expounded by a Metaphor, and import no more then the doing of so glorious things by God for the Church, in the *latter days*, as shall manifest his glorious and creating power, as if he did make new heavens and a new earth. This is farre from the burning of the heavens and earth that now are. It is no more then what the Apostle *Peter* brings from the Prophet *Joel* : *Acts. 2. 19 And I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signes in the earth beneath, bloud and fire, and vapour of smoake ; the Sunne shall be turned into darkenesse and the Moone into bloud.* All which *Peter* makes to be performed upon the day of the *Pentecost*. It is no more then that of *Haggay* 2. 6. *Yet once it is a little while and I will shake the heavens and the earth, and the sea, and all the dry land ;* which the Apostle *Heb. 12. 26, 27.* makes to be performed at the first comming of Christ. 2.

Thirdly, That the matter of this 65. chap. of *Isai. v. 16.* is to be referred to Christs first comming, and the Apostles first preaching unto the *Gentiles*, is cleare by comparing the first verle of this chap. *I am found of them that sought me not,* with the 20 verse of the



tenth to the *Romanes*; But *Isaiah* was very bold, and sayth, *I was found &c.*

4.

Fourthly, to expound the Prophets in this fashion, were to stumble the *Jewes*, and to give them too great an excuse for their long misbeliefe, and too pregnant arguments for to delay their fayth while the *Messias* come to performe these promises upon earth, till their *Ierusalem* were againe builded. and they put in possession of the holy land, to build their houses and plant their Vineyards therein; till they saw themselves put in possession of their present carnall & legall hopes. Yea, *T. G.* his literall exposition of this and the like places goes beyond the most of the *I. wiss* apprehensions. For that any of the *Talmudists* do dreame that at the comming of the *Messias*, the Lyon shall eate straw, that the Leopard and the Lambe, the Serpent and the sucking childe shall be brought to such a sympathy of natures, as not to have the least disposition to doe harme the one to the other; That the life of men shall be so much at that time prolonged, as one of an hundred yeares must be taken but for an Infant and a childe; that the most fabulous of the Rabbins have gone thus farre in a litterall beleefe, I doe not know.

Their eight  
place.

His eight place, is *Heb. 2. 5, 8.* For unto the *Angells* he hath not put in subjection the world to come; but now we see not yet all things put under him; whence he inferres that Christ in the world to come, is to reigne and to have all things put under his feet, which is not now performed, the Apostle saying expressely that now all things are not put under him; neither is this true in the life to come; for then the Kingdome of *Christ* is rendred up to the Father.

Answer.

Ans. *The World to come* is not that imaginary world of the 1000 yeares, whereof the Scripture speaks no thing; but the dayes of the Gospell of which the Apostle is there speaking, and shewing that the Gospell was administred not by *Angells* as the Law had beene upon Mount *Sinai*, but by the Sonne of God himselfe: This new world under the Gospell did differ more from the old world under the Law, then the earth in the dayes of *Noah* and the *Patriarchs* after the flood, from the earth in the dayes of *Noah* before the flood. This new world of the Gospell began with *Christs first comming* in the flesh; it was demonstrated in his Resurrection, when all power in heaven and in earth was given to him.

*Matth.*

*Math. 28. 18. When all the Angells of God did worshipping him. Heb. 1, 6. When he was set farre above all Principalities and Powers. Ephes. 1. 21. The accomplishment of this world is not till the Last day, when Death, Hell, and Satan, which yet are not made Christs footstoole, shall fully be conquered. These things cannot be verified of the thousand yeares. For according to Mr. Burrowes grounds, before they begin, many things are annihilated, and so not made subject; The heavens and elements are melted with fervent heate; The earth and the workes thereof are burnt up with fire; Also, during these thousand yeares, Christs chiefe enemies are not fully subdued; death still hath dominion over men; the devill is onely bound, but yet alive, and not cast into the lake.*

His ninth place, is *Ier. 3. 16 17. They shall say no more the Arke* The ninth  
*of the Covenant of the Lord, neither shall it come to mind, neither shall* place.  
*they remember it; at that time they shall call Jerusalem the throne of*  
*the Lord, and all the Nations shall be gathered unto it, neither shall*  
*they walke any more after the imagination of their evill heart. Hence,*  
 he inferres, A state of the Church in the Last dayes so glorious,  
 that all things by-past shall be forgot; That *Judah* and *Israel*  
 shall returne from their captivity to *Jerusalem*; That all Nations  
 shall joyne with them; That they shall no more walke after their  
 old finnes; That *Jerusalem* which before times was at best but  
 the footstoole of God, shall then become a throne of glory.

Answer. There is no word here of Christs abode upon earth Answer.  
 for a thousand yeares. Secondly, the *old things* that are to be forgotten,  
 are exprest to be the *Ceremonies of the Law*, but no Ordinance of the  
 Gospell. The Prophet names the Arke and the Temple which by Christs  
 first comming were removed. Thirdly, The walking of *Judah* and *Israel*  
 together, and the Nations joyning with them, Imports no more but  
 the calling of *Jewes* and *Gentiles* by the Gospell to the Christian Church  
 the heavenly *Jerusalem*: The same which the Prophet *Esay* hath in his  
 second Chap. vers. 5. *The establishing (in the Last dayes) of the House of*  
*God on the top of the mountaines; the flowing of all Nations thereto;*  
*for out of Sion shall goe forth a Law, and the Word of the Lord from*  
*Jerusalem*; These *Last dayes*, were the dayes of the Apostles,  
 when they from *Sion* and *Jerusalem* did blow the Trumpet of the  
 Gospell to all the Nations. These were the times whereof *Jeremy*

in the 15 verse of the Chapter in hand doth speake. *I will give you Pastors according to my heart, which shall feede you with knowledge and understanding.* The Pastors there promised, were Christ and his Apostles; better Pastors then these God never sent, neither ever shall send to his Church. Fourthly, *Walking after Gods owne heart*, doth not import a freedome from all sinne; but onely a state of grace, wherein according to the new Covenant, God gives his people a new heart, and writes his Lawes upon the same. Fifthly, That whereupon the greatest weight of the argument is laid, seemes to be a very groundlesse conceit, That *Ierusalem*, when it is a throne of glory, must be the old *Ierusalem* builded againe; as if *Ierusalem* under the Law, and *Ierusalem* in the dayes of the Gospell (the Church in the new Testament, the mother of us all) were but the footstool of God. This is a doctrine expressly against Scripture; for in divers places, *Ierusalem*, *Sion*, and the *Arke*, even in the old Testament, are called not onely the footstool, but the throne of God *Ier. 14.21. Doe not abhorre us for thy names sake; doe not disgrace the throne of thy glory.* Also *Chap. 17.12. A glorious high throne from the beginning is the place of our Sanctuary.* The Lord did as it were sit upon the Mercy Seate as upon a chaire of State, under the Canopy of the wings of the Cherubins within the Sanctuary the chamber of his most Majestuous presence. *Ierusalem* under the new Testament, is called not onely the throne of God, but his footstool, *Esay 40.13. To beautifie the place of my Sanctuary, and I will make the place of my seete glorious.* This place our Brethren expound of the Sanctuary during the time of the thousand yeares. However, it is cleare it must be expounded of the Church in the same times whereof *Ieremias* speakes in his third Chapter whence the Argument in hand is brought.

Their tenth place.

The tenth place is *Dan. 2. 44. And in the dayes of these Kings shall the God of heaven set up a Kingdome which shall never be destroyed, and it shall stand for ever.* Whence, is inferred an everlasting Kingdome of Christ, & a joy of *Ierusalem* unchangeable to any sorrow.

Answer.

Answer. Christs Everlasting Kingdome, is meerely spirituall and heavenly. That dominion which the Father gave to the Son at his Incarnation, *Luke. 1. 32, 33. The Lord shall give unto him the throne of his Father David, and he shall raigne over the House of Jacob*



*Jacob for ever.* This Kingdome for the *matter* of it, is truly everlasting, being the glory which Christ and his Saints enjoy for ever in the heavens; albeit for the *manner* of the administration thereof it be rendred up by the Sonne to the Father, when the worke of mediation is perfected, and all enemies are fully destroyed. To deny the beginning of Christs Kingdome over his Church, unto the thousand yeares, is many wayes absurd; And, because of the eternall indurance of his dominion and glory in the heavens, to make the Church on earth in which he raignes, to be voide of all tribulation, of all changes, to have a perpetuall day without any darkenesse, is contrary to the Scriptures alledged in the former arguments.

In the eleventh place, he alledgeth *Revel. 19. 13. And he was* Their eleventh  
*cloathed with a vesture dipped in blood.* And *Ezek. 21 28. And there* place.  
*shall be no more a pricking brier unto the house of Israel, nor any grie-*  
*ving them of all that are round about them.* Whence, they inferre  
That in the beginning of the thousand yeares, Christ with his *owne*  
hands shall kill so many of the wicked, that his garments shall be  
dipped in blood, and not *one* of them left to trouble the Church.

Answer. It is a very strange conception to make the Lord Je- Answer.  
sus embrue his holy hands in the blood of so many men. That  
these battells are not fought with the hands of Christ, in a *literall*  
way, will appeare by a paralell place, *Isay 63. 1. Who is this that*  
*cometh from Edom, with died garments from Bozra?* Unto Christ  
here are ascribed garments died in blood, because of the slaughter  
of the *Edomites*, a little after the *Babylonish* captivity, at which  
time Christ had neither a body nor a garment in propriety of  
speech. As these battells were fought by Christ, not in his *owne*  
person nor upon the earth; so neither these battells of the *Revel-*  
which so much the lesse can be literally expounded, as in  
the 14 and 15 *verses* of that 19 *Chapter*, the instrument where-  
by Christ is said to fight these battells, is not any Sword in his  
hand, but the two-edged *Sword of his mouth*; and the Souldiers  
whom he leads out to these battells are not armed with Sword  
and Speare, but ride upon *white Horses, cloathed in fine linnen white*  
*and cleane.*

As for that of *Ezechiel*, if you consult either with the origi-  
nall, or the best Interpreters, it must be expounded first and prin-  
cipally, if not solely of *the Towne of Sidon* which the Lord was.

to destroy, that it might no more be a thorne in the side of *Isrl.*

From *this*, to inferre the purging of the Christian Church of all other enemies in this life, and that by killing of them all as cursed *Canaanites*: were a dangerous conclusion, farre from the justice and innocence of Christians in all by-gone times, the beleefe whereof would quickly renew unto us the horrible tragedies of the *Anabaptists*.

The twelfth  
place.

In the twelfth place, he cites *Rev. 21. 23, 24. And the City had no need of the Sun, neither of the Moone to shine in it; and the Kings of the earth doe bring their glory and honour unto it. also chap. 22. ver. 1, 2, 3. and he shewed me a pure river of the Water of life, &c.*

Answer.

Ans. The Divines who apply these two chapters to the condition of the Church upon earth after the calling of the *Jewes*, take the most of the passages in a figurative and *allegoricall* sence. To expound them *literally* and properly, of any Church on earth, the Text will not permit. Shall ever the Church on earth be so free of sorrow and death, as not to sorrow for sinne, or to have *none* of its members mortall? Shall they so immediately see the face of God, as the use of Temples, Tabernacles, or any ordinance, shall be needlesse? Shall ever man-upon *earth*, be without the Sunne and the Moone? These things are true in a *proper* sence, onely of the Saints of heaven. What is here alleadged to the contrary, That the Kings of the *earth* bring not their riches and honours to the Heavens; we say, it is but a part of the Allegorie, to expresse under that similitude the glory & wealth of the life to come; as in the same place, the Spirit of God expresses the happinesse of heaven by the Metaphors of gold and pretious stones, of rivers and fountaines, of trees and fruits. To expound all these in a *literall* sence, of any Church either in earth or heaven, were incommodious; except our Brethren would put us upon more fancies then any of them yet have spoke of.

Their last  
place.

In the last place, they cite for the *gifts* of the Saints, *Zach. 12. 8. He that is feeble among them, in that day, shall be like David; and the house of David shall be as God: and for the honour of the Saints that in the thousand yeares they shall be taken into private familiarity by Princes and great men, Rev. 11. 12. And they heard a great voyce from heaven saying unto them, come up hither; and they ascended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them.*

Ans.

Ans. The *gifts* meant by *Zachary*, are such as are powred upon all the Saints of the New Testament with the spirit of grace and supplication, which makes the *least* of the Kingdome of Heaven to be like unto *David*, to *Elijah*, and greater then *John the Baptist*, as Christ speakes. But what is this unto the imaginary glory of the *Chiliafticke* Kingdome? The honour they speake of, cannot be fetched out of that eleventh of the *Revel*. For who but themselves will expound heaven in that place, of the Thrones of Kings, of the Privie Chambers of Princes and great men? The calling up of the *two witnesses* to heaven, by none else but them, will be taken for the Saints familiarity with great States-men: And according to their own Tenets, in the *Chiliafticke* Kingdome there is no such degrees of honour, as in this world. For there Christ in his owne Person is King, and all the Saints doe shine at least as the firmament; and the glory of *these* Saints is greatest whose grace is most eminent. Familiarity with Princes and worldly States-men, is then for no purpose. Beside, the ascension of the *two witnesses* to the heavens, is before the fall of the tenth part of *Rome*, and so before the thousand yeares beginne.

There be yet some more places cited by Master *Burrowes* and others for their Tenet; but these which we have answered, are the principall: and if *they* be cleared, there is no difficulty in the rest.

Besides Scriptures, Master *Burrowes* takes from the Glimpse of *T. G.* sundry testimonies of antiquity; all which, *T. G.* does borrow from *Alstedius*. To the which I answer, That no Protestants build their fayth upon humane testimonies; and, no men in the world make so small account of antiquity as our Brethren. It is marvellous if in earnest they should encourage themselves in their Tenet by such testimonies of the Fathers, as by the Catholick consent of all *posterior* antiquity and the *unanimous* profession both of Protestants and Papists this day, are censured of error.

Who pleases to know the minde of antiquity in *this* subject, Let him consult especially with *Augustin de civitate dei. Booke 20.* almost through the whole; and the Commentaries of *Vives*, and *Coquens* thereupon. If humane authorities either ancient or moderne, could give our Brethren any satisfaction in this question, it were easie to present them with great store thereof.

Thus



Thus fire had I proceeded when by my Superiours I was called away from these Studies to an other imployment, so what I intended to have spoken to the *Anabaptists*, the *Antinomians*, the *Erastians*, and especially to the remainder of the Popish and Prelaticall Malignants I must remit it to another Season.



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**FINIS.**

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